Drama in Tudor Education: Education in Tudor Drama

by

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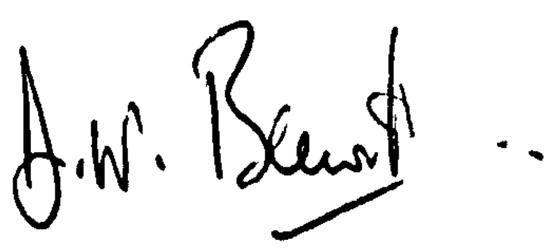
MEMORANDUM

I hereby declare that the thesis entitled Drama in Tudor Education: Education in Tudor Drama is my own work, the result of independent research.

Signed,



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Parts of Chapter II, the sections dealing with Winchester and Eton Colleges, together with the contents of Appendices A and B, have been published under the title 'Records of Drama at Winchester and Eton, 1397-1576' in Theatre Notebook, Volume XXXVIII, Nos. 2 and 3, 1984.

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ABSTRACT

The present work argues for the invaluable contribution of boy actors to the evolution of Tudor drama. Since most young scholars later went up to university or the Inns of Court, I have also considered the course of drama in those institutions. This drama in education was given its prime impetus by visiting professional troupes, whose itineraries included schools, universities and the Inns. The education in drama they set before their audiences helped shape the schools drama, which was able to develop and expand in a way denied the professionals by the consequences of the Reformation. Not till Leicester's men established themselves at the Theater were the professionals enabled once again to strive towards their eventual pre-eminence.

The argument in those sections dealing with the colleges of Winchester, Eton and Westminster is supported by original archival material hitherto unavailable in print.

The Introduction states the situation at the moment of the foundation of the Theater and of the first Blackfriars. That significant moment marked the beginnings of the decline in the fortunes of the forces of drama in education. The prehistory is rooted in the broad educational changes of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries (Chapter I) and in the seminal effect upon the drama of the sermons of the mendicant preachers of the later Middle Ages (Chapter I). These twin influences forged the drama of pre-Reformation England, defined the roles of professionals and boys alike (Chapter II).

The break with Rome created conditions potentially inimical to the evolution of drama. Three prophetic playmakers discovered the means of breaking the impasse (Chapter III). However, only the drama in education was able to capitalise upon the means; the professionals found themselves handicapped by the imperatives of the new faith (Chapter IV). In the early years of Elizabeth, the latter made a stealthy comeback, while the boy actors consolidated and exploited their gains unawares (Chapter V). The Conclusion summarises the argument.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

ECR	Eton College Records
EETS, OS or ES	Early English Text Society, Old Series or Extra Series
EHR	English Historical Review
ELH	English Literary History
ELN	English Language Notes
ELR	English Literary Renaissance
GLMR	Guildhall Library Muniment Room
HLQ	Huntington Library Quarterly
JEGP	Journal of English and German Philology
LP: Henry VIII	Letters and Papers Foreign and Domestic of the Reign of Henry VIII, 1509-47, 36 Vols. ed. by J S Brewer, James Gairdner and R H Brodie (London, 1862-1932)
Materialen	Materialen zur Kinde des Älteren Englischen Dramas, ed. by W Bang (Louvain)
MCM	Mercers Company Muniments
MLN	Modern Language Notes
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
MSC	Malone Society Collections
MSR	Malone Society Reprints
MTC	Merchant Taylors Company
NQ	Notes and Queries
PMLA	Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RES	Review of English Studies
RORD	Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama
SEL	Studies in English Literature

SP	Studies in Philology
SPL	Shrewsbury Public Library
SRO	Shrewsbury Record Office
TFT	Tudor Facsimile Texts
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
TN	Theatre Notebook
TRHS	Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
WAM	Westminster Abbey Muniments
WCM	Winchester College Muniments

INTRODUCTION

One of the tales in Thomas Middleton's Father Hubburd's Tales[1], published in 1604, is told by the Ant, as ploughman, to the Nightingale and concerns the decline in his fortunes. He begins with the death of his landlord, but quickly launches into the doleful saga of the son and heir, who "was so accustomed to wild and unfruitful company about the court and London (whither he was sent by his sober father to practise civility and manners), that in the country he would scarce keep till his father's body was laid in the cold earth".[2] Once in the metropolis, the young man rapidly squanders his inheritance on fashionable finery, on whoring, drinking and dicing. Dispossessed of his lands (hence the Ant's complaint) by seasoned predators - a lawyer, a mercer and a merchant - and fleeced of his money by his gambling cronies, he takes to pimping, and so becomes "all that might be in dissolute villany, and nothing that should be in his forefathers' honesty".[3] It is a tale worthy of the medieval mendicants,[4] told with a fleet economy and a colourful turn of phrase, wholly delightful but moral withal.

The fraudulent lawyer of Middleton's tale, as part of his "riotous instructions how to carry himself", advises his gullible victim "after dinner" to "venture beyond sea, that is, in a choice pair of nobleman's oars, to the Bankside, where he must sit out the breaking-up of a comedy, or the first act of a tragedy; or rather, if his humour so serve him, to call in at the Blackfriars, where he should see a nest of boys able to ravish a man".[5] Thomas Middleton was one of the playmaker/playwrights associated with the "nest of boys". In 1600, despite a Privy Council

injunction of that year surpressing all playhouses save the Globe and Fortune,[6] Richard Burbage turned the renascent Blackfriars into a private theatre with a children's company recruited from the Chapel Royal, the whole enterprise committed to the care of the devious and reckless Henry Evans.[7] Burbage had only recently been involved in the demolition of the Theater at Shoreditch and its metamorphosis into the first Globe during the winter of 1598/9. He thus had financial interests on both banks of the Thames. If Shakespeare is to be believed, the state of affairs led to a battle for survival between rival companies of boys and men, each vying for the patronage of a potentially large play-going public. Though well-known, the passage from Hamlet deserves quoting in full:

Ham: ...what Players are they?

Rosin: Euen those you were wont to take delight in the Tragedians of the City.

Ham: How chances it they trauaile? their residence both in reputation and profit was better both wayes.

Rosin: I thinke their Inhibition comes by the meanes of the late Innouation?

Ham: Doe they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the City? Are they so follow'd?

Rosin: No indeed, they are not.

Ham: How comes it? doe they grow rusty?

Rosin: Nay, their indeauour keepes in the wonted pace; But there is Sir an ayrie of Children, little Yases, that crye out on the top of question; and are most tyranically clap't for't: these are now the fashion, and so be-ratled the common Stages (so they call them) that many wearing Rapiers, are affraide of Goose-quils, and dare scarce come thither.

Ham: What are they Children? Who maintains 'em? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the Quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards if

they should grow themselues to common Players (as it is like most if their meanes are not better) their Writers do them wrong, to make them exclaim against their owne Succession.

Rosin: Faith there ha's bene much to do on both sides: and the Nation holds it no sinne, to tarre them to Controuersie. There was for a while, no mony bid for argument, vnlesse the Poet and the Player went to Cuffes in the Question.

Ham: Is't possible?

Guild: Oh there ha's beene much throwing about of Braines.

Ham: Do the Boyes carry it away?

Rosin: I that they do my Lord, Hercules & his load too.[8]

The feud, which finally put paid to the children's companies, was the inevitable conclusion to two notably important events of the year 1576. James Burbage built the Theater (already alluded to)[9] and Richard Farrant established the first Blackfriars playhouse.[10] The Theater, situated in the London suburbs at Shoreditch, had a stage open to wind and weather; performances took place in natural light. It was planned to accommodate a large audience, hence admission charges ranged modestly from 1d to 1/-. There were galleries for sitting and standing but no seats in the pit. The players, members of the Earl of Leicester's company, comprised men only (with boys for the female roles, presumably). By contrast, the Blackfriars was situated in the liberties within the city walls. The relatively small theatre was roofed so that staging was by candlelight. There were seats for all. Admission prices were dearer, ranging from 6d to 2/6d. The Blackfriars company was made up of boy actors, in fact the children of the Chapel Royal who, in 1583, were joined by the children of St Paul's.

So far there is no record of the plays staged by the professionals at the Theater. Since they originated as a liveried company, one may assume that their repertoire included works which, though occasional in the first instance, had been toured successfully.[11] These, surely, will have comprised the first offerings at their new home, and Hamlet once again gives us some inkling of their nature. After the First Player has taken over from Hamlet the lengthy narrative leading up to the fate of Hecuba, Polonius interrupts: "This is too long", to which Hamlet responds: "Pıythee say on: He's for a Iigge, or a tale of Baudry, or hee sleepes".[12] If that is fair comment upon the staple of professional fare, then the Prince's subsequent advice to the same player upon the art of acting becomes wholly à propos.[13] Ben Jonson, in a consolatory verse letter to Fletcher upon the failure of the latter's play, The Faithful Shepherdess, at the Globe, in 1608/9, extends our knowledge not only of the content of plays in public theatres but also of the audience:

To the worthy Author M.
Iohn Fletcher

The wise, and many-headed Bench, that sits
  Vpon the Life, and Death of Playes, and Wits,
(Compos'd of Gamester, Captaine, Knight, Knight's man,
  Lady, or Pusil, that weares maske, or fan,
Veluet, or Taffata cap, rank'd in the darke
  With the shops Foreman, or some such braue sparke,
That may iudge for his six-pence) had, before
  They saw if halfe, damd thy whole play, and more;
Their motiues were, since it had not to do
  With vices, which they look'd for, and came to.
I, that am glad, thy Innocence was thy Guilt,
  And wish that all the Muses blood were spilt,
In such a Martirdome; To vexe their eyes,
  Do crowne thy murdred Poëme: which shall rise
A glorified worke to Time, when Fire,
  Or moathes shall eate, what all these Fooles admire.[14]

Fortunately, there exist three plays performed by the boys at the first Blackfriars, two by John Lyly - Alexander and Campaspe[15] and Sapho and Phao,[16] and George Peele's The Araynement of Paris.[17] Four others by anonymous authors are known by title - The historye of Mutius Sceuola, The history of Loyaltie and bewtie, A history of Alucius, and A Comodie or Morrall deuised on A game of the Cardes.[18] It is difficult to imagine "Knight's man", "Pusil" or "the shops Foreman" deriving much pleasure from Lyly's punning verbal dexterity, which aimed "to create a mode of life which is so witty, so poised, so brilliant that we are flattered by being thought refined enough to forget real life and enjoy its ideals of love and honour."[19] Campaspe explores the nature of "kingliness", whether it resides in the power to command others or ourselves, and derives from Book XXXV of Pliny's Natural History. It is an elaborate debate, an elegant refinement of an admired form first given extended dramatic shape and life by John Heywood in the 1520s (see Chapter 4). Sapho and Phao considers the comparative merits of love and chastity, tours the landscape of love so as to demonstrate the virtues of royalty more fully, and flatteringly imputes to courtiers a commendable preoccupation with love and honour. The groundlings of the public playhouses had no use for kingliness, scant regard for honour (not even among thieves), while love was a luxury best quickly erased in the throes of lust. Peele's pastoral extravaganza, which judges the nature of beauty, is static and wordy, though neatly devised to accommodate suitably rich, emblematic tableaux such as were popular at court. It has a masque-like conclusion in which the three Fates - Clotho, Lachesis and Atropos - "lay downe their properties at the Queenes feete" as prelude to the three

rival Olympian beauties yielding the palm for "peerelesse beautie" to "Our fayre Eliza our Zabeta fayre".[20] I doubt whether even today a tolerably literate individual could name the Fates; Wagner wisely dubbed them Norns and numbered them. The Blackfriars repertoire was intended for an educated élite susceptible to flattery as to its erudition and accustomed to elaborate staging.

Richard Farrant's enterprise was founded upon the experience of the boy actors at court. His ostensible purpose in moving into Blackfriars was to provide his charges with adequate time and rehearsal space to prepare for court entertainments without hindering their education. In fact his motives were entrepreneurial, sparked off no doubt by the recent opening of the Theater. Preparation for occasional diversions became the excuse to embark upon what must have seemed a sound financial proposition, though monetary greed bred litigation, which ate into profits. What Blackfriars patrons enjoyed were supposedly rehearsals, work in progress, albeit of an advanced nature. "The Prologue at the black Friers" to Alexander and Campaspe cleverly implies this:

> "We feare...that our labours slylye glaunced on, will breede some content, but examined to the proofe, small commendation. The haste in perfourming shall be our excuse...But howsoeuer we finish our worke, we craue pardō, if we offend in matter, and patience, if we transgresse in manners."[21]

In the Prologue to Sapho and Phao, they have

> "...ventured to present exercises beefore your iudgements, when we know them full of weak matter, yeelding rather our selues to the curtesie, which we haue euer found, then to the precisenesse, which wee ought to feare.[22]

Somewhat in the manner of, say, a National Theatre preview, only rather more profitable, I imagine.

Farrant sought to challenge the regular activities of his rivals, the Burbages, at the Theater. 'Box Office' receipts were the spur, with this difference, that the professionals at Shoreditch needed the cash to survive both as a business and as individuals wresting a living in an uncertain world. The amateurs, Farrant and his boys, enjoyed court patronage and, at the least, did not have to play and sing for their supper of necessity. Farrant and his successors were in it to feather their nests, which as often as not proved to be Procrustean, though they were not to know in advance. It was inevitable that the two traditions would sooner or later clash. Nor is it any surprise to find Richard Burbage investing in Blackfriars upon the failure of the first speculators, and not merely because, at the time, the authorities were unsympathetic towards public playhouses. Boy actors were an undoubted investment in view of their influence at court. They could be the thin edge of the wedge for the adults which opened the door to court patronage. The professionals were in search of a means to guarantee a living less precarious than that of the open road, which is where it had hitherto lain despite their liveried status. The boys belonged to a performance tradition which did not have to rely upon the principle of four men and a boy, minimal costumes and props; their drama was altogether more lavish and spectacular, as the final moments of Peele's Araynement confirm.[23]

Alexander and Campaspe requires a curtained inner recess to facilitate the flow of action, as when, for example, Diogenes is revealed - in his tub? - in Act II (sc. ii, ll. 603-5) and when later, in Act III (sc. iv, l. 880), the scene shifts from the street to Apelles' studio. Extras play an important role on at least two occasions: in the opening moments, the

victorious Alexander enters with his "spoils and prisoners", which include "ladies of honour", going before him, a processional moment which lends itself to panoply, while in Act lV the citizens "flock" to the place "that Diogenes hath appointed to fly".

The action in Sapho and Phao moves between four principal locales, the ferry station, Sapho's chamber and court, Vulcan's forge and Sybila's cave, which undoubtedly benefitted from the use of the inner stage, the drawn curtains revealing a spectacle as lavishly rich as the elaborate landscapes which were so prominent a feature of the earlier disguisings. Music is an important ingredient in both works; the earlier play also includes tumbling and dancing (Act lV, sc. v).

The establishment of the Theater and the first Blackfriars testifies to the strength of the two traditions. The one evolved out of what Robert Redfield has called "the little tradition of the largely unreflective many", the other out of "the great tradition of the reflective few". The latter "is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities". The two traditions are interdependent and "can be thought of as two currents of thought and action, distinguishable, yet ever flowing into and out of each other",[24] though not always without waves and storms along the way. I shall have cause to refer to the two traditions throughout the present work.

It is the purpose of this study to account for the simultaneous foundation of the two theatres in 1576 by a detailed study of drama in Tudor education, primarily in schools but also in the two universities and the Inns of Court. Hopefully, this will also make clear the contribution of " the great tradition" to the continuum of sixteenth century drama. The arduous, sometimes parlous, progress of the professional troupes plays a major role in the story. They were the purveyors of education through drama, representatives of "the little tradition". As a result, their fortunes fell into the hands of official partisans who exploited them as agents of political and religious propaganda. As we shall see, the boys were steered clear of controversy and went on to lay the foundations of the drama upon which the major Elizabethan and Stuart dramatists built their imposing reputations. The latter owed almost as much to the adult actors who, once the Theater was established, eventually drove the boys from the stage, while taking over and perfecting the innovations which the young performers had made possible over more than a century.

Before embarking upon a detailed investigation of the significance of drama in Tudor education and of the impact of education in Tudor drama, I intend, in Chapter I, to review briefly two crucial aspects of the prehistory. The first has to do with the relationship of mendicant sermons to the drama. The second concerns other influential strands in the pattern of learning, not all of them formal, which provided an education no less effective than the moral caveats and

exhorations of the homilists. G R Owst has dealt admirably and at length with the art of the preachers and its relevance to medieval literature.[25] Nevertheless, a summary of his findings will help freshen the memory. Similarly, while it is not possible to deal comprehensively with matters educational prior to 1534, a survey becomes necessay if only to alert the reader to important social changes taking place in the later middle ages.

Chapter II launches the main body of the argument. It deals with the interaction of drama and education before the Reformation and divides naturally into two parts. In part one I examine the pre-Reformation interlude as an instance of popular education; its auspices, provenance, audiences, playing spaces, subject matter and those who performed it, the professionals. It exemplifies an important aspect of "the little tradition" at work. The second part assesses the effect of professional incursions among the halls of "the great tradition" - the universities, Inns of Court and, most particularly, the colleges of Winchester and Eton. Hitherto unpublished archival material yields important information about the incidence and nature of drama at the two colleges, as also of their indebtedness to the players of interludes. The chapter ends with a close look at Johan the Euangelyst, a curious work which presages novel developments.

The break with Rome created conditions potentially inimical to the evolution of drama. However, three playmakers associated with the court and with boy actors produced works which intimated where the future lay. They stand as the cornerstone of the present work and are the subject of Chapter III. The anonymous author of Godly Queene Hester wrote before the severance of ties with the Papacy, though his play grows out of the circumstances of Henry VIII's divorce. It is a fierce satire, which re-introduces narrative and storytelling into playmaking, which handles a wide time span with confidence and which calls upon formidable resources - seventeen speaking parts, a host of extras and a choir. Doctrinal issues are notably absent. John Heywood is less extravagant in his demands, but wholly secular in his desire to entertain without offence. Of significant interest is his apparent attempt to originate a type of interlude whose subject matter and presentation were sufficiently unexceptionable to allow travelling troupes to tour it without fear of censorship. By contrast, John Redford, choirmaster of St. Paul's, stuck to court territory and in Wit and Science penned a play whose content so admirably suited both audience and performers that it became, I shall argue, a prototype of subsequent court entertainment. He fashioned the education in drama for performance by young actors who had acquired their skills via the drama in education. The work is both a summation of past practice and a paradigm for the future.

In the years that followed, the boy amateurs prospered while the professionals found themselves increasingly denied access to the

mainstream of drama, compelled to champion interludes extolling the new religious imperatives, while the boys' mentors capitalised upon the freedoms won them by their innovatory predecessors. Sebastian Westcott was especially successful with the children of St. Paul's, so much so that they became Queen Elezabeth I's favourite company. Bishop Bale's output and Respublica are taken as representative of each end of the spectrum. Chapter IV traces these tendancies during the years 1534-1558, what I have called the transitional years, an uneasy period politically, but one in which the pattern of dramatic activity began to be established.

Chapter V covers the final years under review, 1558-1576. By the accession of Elizabeth I, the travelling actors seemed stuck with an educational drama, the Protestant interlude, from which there was no escape. Meanwhile, the boy actors dominated court entertainment, the lucrative stronghold into which the professionals longed to break. Two new schools, Westminster and Merchant Taylors, swelled the variety of royal entertainment. Drama progressed and flourished at the universities and Inns of Courts - Cambridge and Oxford provided spectacular offerings for the Queen's visits in 1564 and 1566 respectively. Stagings at the Inns were rather more critical of the sovereign. Drama in education was settling into a routine almost. However, two significant events heralded imminent change. In 1574, Leicester's men were granted a licence to perform in London regularly on weekdays. In 1575/6, they were present at Magdalen College, Oxford, apparently at the invitation of John Lyly.

A professional company was taking steps to re-enter the mainstream, to challenge the supremacy of the boys.

The central argument of the present work seeks to claim for the children a major share in the evolution of the Elizabethan stage. They may only have entered upon the scene in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries but they held the stage until as late as the early seventeenth. They and their mentors learnt their craft from the experience of visiting professionals, whose art they refined and polished under the patronage of the court. They represent "the great tradition", in whose halls humanist ideals were extolled and taught. The drama in education enables them to invest dramatic entertainment with richer and wider implications and to win for it a more lavish staging before a more sophisticated audience. Little wonder that Hamlet, a university man (wit?), thought it necessary to instruct a seasoned professional in the art of acting;[26] that Ben Jonson immortalised "S(alomon)P(avy) a child Q(ueen) El(izabeth's) Chappell", who "three fill'd Zodiackes" had been

> "The stages jewell;
> And did act (what now we mone)
> Old men so duely,
> As, sooth, the Parcae thought him one,
> He plai'd so truely". 27

He died, "scarce thirteene", in 1602.[28] The boy actors impressed to the end.

Meanwhile, the liveried troupes lost their grip upon occasional entertainment. The Reformation forced them to practise their art in

the service of polemic and the new religious ideas. It was, after all, they who had reached (could still reach) those parts of the nation that amateurs could never reach. They had, in the past, established lucrative itineraries, were of and played to the folk of "the little tradition". It became their lot to educate the vast majority of the nation, through drama, in the imperatives of the new order. For them, staging and audience remained unchanged. They had lost the dramatic initiative, were cut off from access to court patronage. When, after 1576, the professionals sought to regain that initiative, to edge back into court entertainment, they were forced to take account of developments in acting, staging and playmaking pioneered by the amateur stage.

Which brings me to a final point in my Introduction. The present work is not a study of the interlude form, though a fair number of works will be cited, while some will require more detailed exegesis. Several important studies of the early Tudor stage have already dealt comprehensively with the subject. In The English Drama, 1485-1558,[29] F.P. Wilson offers a straightforward account of the changes discernible in the form, though David Bevington argues more forcibly on its behalf in From Mankind to Marlowe.[30] He corrects "the common misapprehension that popular dramatic structure was a simple, constant entity, to which one might refer statically as 'the Morality pattern'".[31] Indispensable are T.W. Craik's The Tudor Interlude,[32] which gives life to literary critiscism by dealing with interludes as pieces for performance; and Glynne Wickham's Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. III.[33] Prof. Wickham

not only expands immeasurably upon Dr. Craik's study, but considers also how the body of pre-Shakespearean interludes affected the great body of Elizabethan drama, and reviews incipient notions of tragedy and comedy.

I have dealt only with plays germane to my argument, though I realise there may well be grounds for disagreement with my choice of plays. It has not been easy to select from some eighty or ninety works. Thus, in dealing with the pre-Reformation drama, I shall reluctantly do no more than mention Hyckescorner, Calisto and Melibea, and John Rastell's The Four Elements,three plays deserving of fuller treatment, especially the first. Hyckescorner is an excellent example of a touring play but atypical structurally - the protagonist of the title exits for good half-way through the action. The play's form relates to the thematic intention, but to explain that relationship would entail a considerable digression. Similarly, Calisto and Melibea is fascinating for its ties with de Rojas' Calisto y Melibea, but it does not typify the professional interlude, which is not to imply it was not sucessful on circuit.

The Four Elements more obviously recommends itself for inclusion. Rastell, concerned to propogate an interest in secular learning, is intent upon "declarynge many proper poyntys of phylosophy naturall, and of dyuers straunge landys, and of dyuers straunge effectis and causis".[34] Colet founded St. Paul's school in 1509. The following

year Rastell set up his printing business on the south side of St. Paul's churchyard. Both men were intimates of Sir Thomas More and his circle. Clearly, the play could have been made with Coletine scholars in mind. However, it is also intended to pay its way further afield, for which purpose "ye may leve out muche of the sad mater, as the messengers parte, and some of Naturys parte and some of Experyens parte"[35] - the secular learning, in other words. This will reduce the playing time from "an houre and a halfe" to "thre quarters of an hour of length". The Four Elements is somewhat of a hybrid, a play made to fulfil at least a twofold function. Entertaining as it is, it is less exemplary than Mundus et Infans, Occupation and Idleness, and Medwall's two plays, Nature and Fulgens and Lucres. They serve admirably to demonstrate professional playmaking and the kinds of piece propably written for boys at this period. Mundus et Infans (c. 1508) is an early example of a work skilfully crafted for touring audiences, while Occupation and Idleness is made to instruct members of both "the great" and"little traditions" at a single staging. Medwall, on the other hand, was an Eton alumnus, whose experience both of visiting professionals and schools drama is everywhere implicit in Nature, while Fulgens and Lucres bears eloquent testimony to emergent humanist principles of education and to the ideoligical stance of the new men who were to dominate sixteenth century politics.

John Redford's Wit and Science is a synoptic distillation of

Medwall's outlook, whose didactic content, narrative span and technical demands build upon Medwall's achievements. Together with Godly Queene Hester and John Heywood's output, it constitutes the central thrust of my argument. The plays extend across the crucial years during which the children's drama was guided, prophetically, in a new direction, while Heywood's last three plays presage a novel path open to the professionals but denied them by the demands of the Protestant reformers. These important works are thus closely analysed. However, I have not undertaken an extended study of the Wit plays. Werner Habicht[36] and Trevor Lennam[37] write expertly about The Marriage of Wit and Science,while its romantic elements can be traced in L.M. Ellison's The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court[38] and in C.R. Baskerville's two part essay, 'Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England'.[39] Despite the creation of the nimble and naughty Will, the play is more interesting for its romantic attributes than as an innovative work for boy actors. Francis Merbury's play (c. 1579) falls beyond the temporal boundaries of the present study.

Similar considerations have guided the choice of plays for closer scrutiny in subsequent chapters; of, for example, John Bale's Thre Lawes and Kyng Johan, Respublica, Nice Wanton, Thersytes and Gammer Gurton's Nedle (Chapter IV), of Damon and Pythias and Misogonus (chapter V). The aim throughout has been to use the chosen interludes to amplify and to clarify the principal argument, of which they are a part, but of which they are by no means the only or the most important part.

Having thus introduced and summarised the theme of the present study, and having offered a rationale of the choice of texts for study, I turn now to that prehistory which pervaded and shaped the development of drama in Tudor education, which influenced, some might even say tyrannised, the education in Tudor drama.

NOTES AND SOURCES

Introduction

1. Thomas Middleton, Father Hubburd's Tales, in The Works of Thomas Middleton, edited by A.H. Bullen, Vol, VIII (London 1886).

2. Ibid., p.66.

3. Ibid., p.85.

4. G R Owst, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, (Oxford,1961).

5. Thomas Middleton (see Note 1), op. cit., p. 77.

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CHAPTER I

A BACKGROUND TO THE DRAMA

The accession of Henry VII, in 1485, has long been acknowledged as a notable event in English history for a variety of reasons. One of these relates to the new class of men upon whom he set great store. Its members were not always nobly born but could usually claim to be faithful servants of the government and to enjoy financial independence. Their family fortunes had advanced during the Wars of the Roses, when they had quickly grasped the need to keep in motion the machinery of government at a grass roots or provincial level. Therein lay their claim of loyalty. Gayus Flaminius, in Medwall's Fulgens and Lucres, typifies them[1], as do such men of Henry's administration as Empsom, Dudley, Morton, Fox, Heron (from whose account books we learn much about the drama), Bray and Lovell. Henry VIII's reign was illuminated by at least three figures of dazzling attainments - Sir Thomas More, Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell.

The education of such men was rooted in the ferment of the latter half of the fifteenth century. While the traditional founts of knowledge continued primarily, though not exclusively, to serve the interests of the church, inroads to the monopoly were made. The effect was twofold. At a secular level, education became available to a greater body of aspirants, who then ploughed back their mental assets into the business of making fortunes, either commercially or in the service of the state. Individuals hitherto handicapped in the

bid to achieve fame and fortune now prospered. They began to rival the influence of the traditional elite. The clergy, for their part, became more secularised. Increasingly, their service to the state came to be as much a matter of national consciousness, of loyalty to the monarch, as an imperative from the Almighty.

1. Means and Forms of Education

The education of the new men, whatever their status in the new dispensation, benefitted greatly, though not exclusively, from the greater availability of learning. As early as 1405/6, The Statute of Labourers and Apprentices declared that "every man or woman of what estate or condition that he be, shall be free to set their son or daughter to take learning at any manner school that pleaseth them within the realm".[2] Parents who pursued this right on behalf of their children might find their sons in one of a variety of situations, dependent upon the boys' ability to write the letters of the alphabet and to read, not necessarily intelligently, words put before them. Daughters remained trapped by the domestic tyrannies of the home. The fortunate sons would qualify for entrance to a grammar school with its curriculum firmly based upon the seven liberal arts, which dominated educational thinking throughout the Medieval period.

The seven liberal arts comprised the Trivium of Rhetoric, Dialectic and Grammar, and the qaudrivium of Arithmetic, Geometry, Astronomy and Music. Their primacy is well illustrated by comparing

the words of John of Salisbury (c. 1115-80) and William Caxton (c. 1421-91) as representatives at either end of the spectrum. In 1480, Caxton published a translation of the popular French educational treatise, Image du Monde, under the title Mirrour of the World, presumably because he believed in its continuing educational viability. The treatise says of the seven liberal arts that "fro them procedeth sens or wytte humayn and alle maner werke that is made with hondes, alle prowesses, and all habilitees, alle goodes and alle humylitees".[3] Without "Grammaire", it opines, "the other syxe may haue no perfeccion: it is the scyence to fourme the speche, be it in latyn, ffrenshe, or englisshe, or in ony other langage that men speke".[4] Some three hundred years earlier, John of Salisbury had expressed similar sentiments. "Among all the liberal arts, the first is logic, and specifically that part of logic which gives initial instruction about words". Logic includes "Grammar, which is 'the science of speaking and writing correctly - the starting point of all liberal studies' (Isidore: Etymologiarum, i, 5, ch.I). Grammar is the cradle of all philosophy, and in a manner of speaking, the first muse of the whole study of letters."[5]

Boys unable to acquire the basic literacy essential for entrance to a grammar school might benefit from chantries, where often free education was provided by the cleric entrusted with the services and prayers on behalf of the patron.[6] Another source of learning was the almonry schools, which are informatively described in Chaucer's The Prioress Tale. They grew out of a demand for boy

singers and were usually situated at the gates of church precincts. Learning was by rote, while religion and music took precedence over reading. It is doubtful whether the boys ever absorbed or understood the subject matter or, indeed, whether the master ever attempted to make that possible. The boys were choir fodder. Still, they were to become a very important factor in the future development of the theatre. To the male population at large, however, education probably meant an apprenticeship. A young man was bound to a master by indenture - the master being in loco parentis - and served out a seven year period during which he gained the skills of a trade. Besides the task of transmitting professional skills, the master was expexted to watch over and develop the moral integrity of his apprentice. Hans Sachs and David in Wagner's Die Meistersinger are a highly Romantic presentation of such a relationship. An apprenticeship allowed a young man to gain mastery of a trade, to become a respected, even influential, member of his guild. Having prospered within its mysteries, his sons would undoubtedly reap the harvest of a grammar school education.

Apprenticeship excepted, the church's grip on education was paramount. However, the fifteenth century witnessed the steady loosening of that grip. The process is fully recorded by Joan Simon[7] and J.E.G. Montmerency[8]. It was particularly successful in the provinces. For example, at Ripon, the local school came to be administered by the leading guild[9], while the grammar teachers at Stratford-upon-Avon and Ipswich were borough servants.[10] Schools

were founded by laymen - Sevenoaks School by the London grocer, William Sevenoaks[11]. By 1503, the burgesses of Bridgnorth could decree:

> "That there shall no priste kepe no scole, save oonly oon child to helpe him sey masse, after that a scole mastur comyth to town, but that every child to resorte to the comyn scole in payne of forfetyng to the chaumber of the town 20s. of every priste that doth the contrary".[12]

The famous English schools of Winchester and Eton fall outside the preceding stricutures. They originated as preparatory institutions for university colleges - Winchester for New College, Oxford; Eton for King's, Cambridge. As will become clear later, their contribution to the evolution of drama in education is considerable. The scholars were seen as candidates for high government office or as bastions of the church. However, places were not merely restricted to clerics, though, in such cases, the schooling was probably not central to the scholars' upbringing. This was certainly the case at Winchester. Eton, on the other hand, undertook specifically to give instruction to twenty sons of noblemen, who were boarded at their own expense. Since the clergy comprised the bulk of the educated, most of the important governmental and legal posts were in their hands. The nobility provided the muscle, so that most noblemen's sons underwent an education that was primarily, though not exclusively, chivalric. From an early age they were taught religion, morals, common courtesy and obedience to their superiors so as to prepare them, at the age of seven, to become henchmen to feudal overlords chosen by their parents. The high ideals of courtesy, together with military skills, which included such outdoor activities as jousting, were firmly

implanted in the young, who were also taught singing and dancing, English, French and, if lucky, a smattering of Latin. At fourteen, they were esquired to a lord and became active participants in the military and domestic commitments of the fief. Knighthood was the goal, attainable after the age of twenty-one.

To be a knight required wealth, which, increasingly in the fifteenth century, was being squandered upon costly fighting at home and abroad. The dissipation of wealth undermined the chivalric tradition. The mendicant preachers were quick to satirise the decline[13], as were the writers of cycle plays, witness the depiction of Herod's knights in the Herod the Great play of the Towneley cycle[14]. The interlude Gentleness and Nobility[15] also presents an unflattering portrait of a knight, while in Mundus et Infans[16] the playmaker not only sets the knight firmly in a moral and social universe but goes on to demonstrate the nature of and the stages in his degeneration, and to prescribe the means of his rehabilitation. However, although the chivalric tradition as part of the social order underwent modification, the tournaments and disguisings of Henry VIII's reign testify to its persistence. The late interlude, Clyomon and Clamydes[17], celebrates chivalric virtues, while the knightly tale of Palomon and Arcite was thought fit subject to celebrate Queen Elizabeth I's visit to Oxford in 1566[18].

The spread of education during the later Middle Ages did not result in a more eclectic band of students at the universities. The

curriculum's pronounced theological bias tended still to favour the professional churchmen. It was firmly based upon the trivium and quadrivium, but the grammar component of the former had gone into decline at the expense of logic, which now developed a marked dialectical and philosophical character. Dialectic usurped eloquence, which was to make a startling comeback in the later fifteenth century, the result of a humanist reaction to the hair-splitting arguments of scholastics. However, of importance to the present study is the high incidence of dispute as part of the determining process. The third year of the bachelor's degree was characterised by debate, the public disputations of the forty days of Lent constituting the fulfilment of degree requirements. The licensing of the newly admitted bachelors was marked by celebrations and drinking, though these were held within prescribed bounds. The whole process was both dramatic and theatrical[19]. A bachelor could now move on either to a mastership in the arts or in his chosen professional field. In either case, the training required ever greater and more concentrated skill in disputation.

The prevalence of debate in higher learning had its effect further afield, notably in the drama, whereby relevant issues were brought into the public arena as a popular and colourful form of entertainment. In the pre-Reformation interlude, at some point in the action (it may even be on more than one occasion), the playmaker has the forces of good and evil press their respective points of view as to the proper conduct of a man's life on earth. The issue is determined for the

spectator in the person of the hero, whose final state, after various vicissitudes, inevitably brings him into a state of grace. Mankynde[20], Mundus at Infans and Hyckescorner[21] offer fine examples of the practice for popular consumption, while Gentleness and Nobility presents the same audience with a three-cornered argument between a Merchant, a Knight and a Plowman, in which the social issues are as important as the religious. In Wisdom[22] , the playmaker tackles the theme of equity and justice, which suggests it was made for members of the legal profession and which accounts for its complex staging requirements.

At court, a debate might be presented in a more straight forward, albeit elaborate, form. The ambassadors of France were treated to such a debate in 1526. A speaker, extravagantly attired, "made a solempne Oracio, in the Latin tongue, declaryng what Ioye was to the people of both the realmes of England and Fraunce". He was followed by sixteen members of the King's Chapel divided into two groups of eight, each group bringing with it "one richly appareled", who disputed with his opponent as to "whether riches were better the loue". Failing to reach an agreement, "thre knightes, all armed", entered the lists on their respective behalves and, having fought, departed. An "olde man with a silver berd" advanced to conclude "that love & riches, both be necessarie for princes"[23]. The emblematic tourney testifies to the persistance of the chivalric code. On a less elaborate scale, the first four plays of John Heywood, written in the 1520s, are dramatised disputationes, each individually conceived, of which

Witty and Witless[24] comes nearest to the pure form of university debate. Their form was probably dictated by the known skills of his boy performers (see Chapter III above).

Disputation was an essential academic skill, yet its pervasive influence transformed the drama into an educational force whose effectiveness was to prove both an asset and a handicap to the evolution of the form. Nevertheless, verbal contest or debate as a piquant ingredient of the drama can boast a through line from, for example, the exchanges between Christ and Satan in the Towneley Deliverance of Souls[25], via the early interlude of Occupation and Idleness[26] (see Chapter II above) and, in addition to those already mentioned, John Redford's Wit and Science[27], Jacob and Esau[28] and New Customs[29] to the complex and richly patterned dispute that lies at the heart of Shakespeare's Measure for Measure[30]. Always, to a greater or lesser degree, drama remained a potent educational vehicle.

So, in its way, did the study of history, available to all in the most popular fifteenth century histories, namely, the Chronicles of London and the Brut, which C L Kingsford,in his thorough survey of the historical literature of the period[31] has called "... the most popular and widely diffused history of the time"[32]. The Chronicles "have an intrinsic value of their own, both as being in their origin strictly contemporary, and as representing the popular opinion of the time on the events which they record"[33]. They contain much that is of specific interest for civic history, while confirming the growth

of the administrative and merchant middle class, of a greater literacy, and of a regional consciousness - Bristol, King's Lynn and Dublin also boast sterling chronicles. Written at a time of civil strife, the scribes sought to record proven successes which, manifestly, were those at a local level. Local administrators kept the country going, averted total anarchy, acquired a jealously prized self-respect and an education, advanced their fortunes. The Chronicles may be rude and artless compilations intended to inform a wider audience, but they are also statements, indirectly, of a growing middle class bid for status and respectability. The new men, prescient, perhaps, as to their coming inheritance under Henry VII, set down their history as witness of their fitness to govern. In doing so, they imply what lessons are to be learnt from the condition of anarchy.

The Brut, itself heavily indebted to the Chronicles of London, shows the process working at a national level. The earlier sections dealing with the period 1377-1519 are a fuller narrative and adopt a more poetical style, like ballads, especially for the years 1415-18. Indeed, the figure of Henry V is framed as the exemplum of the kind of leader the nation yearned for. Shakespeare drew upon the Second Continuation of The Brut, compiled in 1464, for the first two scenes of his own panegyric to the monarch. If the Chronicles imply who should in future administer the realm, The Brut presents a paradigm of the desired ruler. Written in a utilitarian English for popular consumption, it vigorously projects national aspirations. Once again, the drama absorbs the message. The social evils are bitterly voiced

in the opening speeches of the 'Secunda Pastorum' and of Occupation and Idleness[35]. Gentleness and Nobility discusses the nature of social inequality. Wisdom castigates judicial malpractice. In Nature,[36] Henry Medwall points out the dangers inherent at the court of a weak and unwary monarch,while in Fulgens and Lucres he draws a blueprint for the new bureaucrat in the person of Gayus Flaminius.

The historical literature of the Fifteenth century testifies to a growing literacy among the laity; to the growth of a middle class whose involvement with the government at a local level and whose growing prosperity pave the way to greater good fortune in the future; to the re-emergence of a national consciousness among laymen and to the popular desire for leadership of integrity in the head of the state; and, finally, to the undoubted sense of a sharpened moral outlook, to a view of history, in Erasmus' sense, as an activity which, among other attributes, provides concrete illustrations of the moral law. Linguistically, it heralds the use of the vernacular as a narrative and sometimes emotive recorder.

2. The Advent of Humanism

Humanism added a new dimension to the means and forms of education in late Medieval England. Humanist ideas stemmed mainly from Italy, but they matured into ideals in homegrown soil. Fritz Caspari has defined humanism "as an intellectual movement that sprang from a longing for the revival of classical antiquity".[37] However, J A Mazzeo captures more truly the essence of the movement:

> "(It) was less a matter of spectacular intellectual 'breakthroughs', or comprehensive intellectual syntheses, than a program of education. It was the work of many teachers and scholars unified by a fresh kind of enthusiasm for the classical past and the determination to make a fresh kind of use of it. In all else, humanists possessed widely differing opinions, interests and abilities".38

The "program of education" as it affected England is to be found in the ideas and efforts of the polymath Erasmus and of three remarkable Englishmen: John Colet, Sir Thomas More and Sir Thomas Elyot. The ground work for their contribution to humanist learning had already been laid in the Fifteenth century by a host of progressive men, among them William Grocyn and Thomas Linacre. Roberto Weiss has provided a detailed and comprehensive survey of the process in Humanism in England in the Fifteenth Century[39]. Grocyn and Linacre were close friends. Grocyn,[40] the first great champion of the Greek language at Oxford, was the son of a copyholder. He attended a local Wiltshire school, St. Mary Winton College at Colerne, was accepted at Winchester in 1463 and thereafter carved a notable and influential career for himself. Linacre[41] studied in Florence and Padua, where he took a degree in medicine in 1496.[42] Upon his return to England, he took up the dual task of court physician to Henry VII and tutor to Prince Arthur. Since Sir Thomas Elyot was also a pupil of his, there is a direct line from humanism's earliest history in England to The Book named the Governor,[43] the first great humanist treatise on education in English. More refers to Grocyn as "the master of my life, Linacre the director of my studies".[44]

Erasmus was equally beguiled by his English friends. He writes

to an ex-student of his, Robert Fisher, then studying in Italy, exhorting him to return post-haste to the motherland:

> "But you ask, 'how does our England please you?' If you trust me at all, dear Robert, I should wish you to trust me when I say that I have never found a place I like so much. I find here a climate at once agreeable and extremely healthy, and such a quantity of intellectual refinement and scholarship, not of the usual pedantic and trivial kind either, but profound and learned and truly classical,in both Latin and Greek, that I have little longing left for Italy, except for the sake of visiting it. When I listen to Colet it seems to me that I am listening to Plato himself. Who could fail to be astonished at the universal scope of Grocyn's accomplishment? Could anything be more clever or profound or sophisticated than Linacre's mind? Did nature ever create anything kinder, sweeter, or more harmonious than the character of Thomas More? But why need I rehearse the list further? It is marvellous to see what an extensive and rich crop of ancient learning is springing up here in England; and therefore you ought the more to hurry home".45

Erasmus' educational ideas are well summarised in two important works, <u>De Ratione</u> (1511) and <u>De Pueris Statim ac Liberaliter Instituendis Libellus</u> (1529).[46] They draw their inspiration from the ideals of English humanism. "All knowledge falls into two divisions: the knowledge of 'truths' and the knowledge of 'words': and if the former is first in importance, the latter is acquired first in order of time ... Language thus claims the first place in the order of studies and from the outset should include both Greek and Latin".[47] Here, then, is a rallying cry for the return of eloquence. Erasmus advocates not rule learning but "the copious reading of the best authors", with due attention paid "to the <u>content</u> of the ancient literatures".[48] A grounding in grammar, style and logic are essential: and the secret of style is in constant writing. He sets great store by memory. The interplay of reading and writing is the core of learning; the

one presents moral truths ideally expressed, the other affords the reader opportunity to acquire the skills with which to proclaim, in an individual voice, his own moral integrity. In all this, the teacher's role is crucial, especially as regards the reading. Right understanding is vital: "After all, it is what a reader brings to a passage rather than what he finds there which is the real source of mischief"[49] - which is as true today. The virtues of geography and history are extolled, though all knowledge is good for the learner. The ideal teacher needs to be a polymath.

De Pueris etc. is an impassioned plea that children be educated at an early stage, after which they must continue to receive the best possible education. Otherwise, Erasmus argues, children are being left to indiscipline and will be unable to fulfil a purposive life. He reminds parents that "your children are not begotten to yourself alone, but to your country; not to your country alone, but to God".[50] The Edwardian interlude, Nice Wanton (c. 1550),[51] wry, pacy and economical, is a dramatic parable on these themes, while as late as the 1560s the exuberant Misogonus[52] reiterates the selfsame view. Erasmus insists that study should "hardly be distinguished from play".[53] His own Colloquies[54] take up this challenge. They not only entertain but are ideal material for playmaking, by which means pupils might come to understand dramatic form and acquire acting skills. The foundation, by Colet, of St. Paul's school must have been the realisation of a dream, for a boy the ideal start upon a life in which: "We can never

be said to begin too soon a task we can never live to finish: for a man may cease to learn only when he ceases to live".[55] There is the quitessence of humanism.

Colet enshrined his ideals in a school whose curriculum and teaching methods are extolled in Erasmus' educational writings. Erasmus' life of his friend is still the most moving account,[56] a loving yet dispassionate portrait fully in the spirit of the New Learning.[57] Colet was educated at Oxford, where his tutors included Linacre and Grocyn. He studied Scripture in Italy, where he fell under the spell of Ficino's De Religione Christianae, with its emphasis upon the Divinity of Christ and the meaning of the Incarnation. It was the spur to his practical Christianity, his belief in the necessity for reform in the activities of faith, not the faith itself. His deep love of history inspired him with a Catholic sense of its cyclical nature, which made of it a reservoir of moral instruction. He was "a most far-sighted man, (who) saw that a nation's chief hope lay in having the rising generation trained in good principles".[58] What these were may be deduced from the Statutes of St. Paul's, his Cathchyzon and the Articles of Admission to the School.[59] Colet himself compiled a grammar book, the Aeditio,[60] for use in his foundation, to which his first headmaster, More's friend William Lily, added. As Lily's Latin Grammar, its use was made compulsory in schools by a committee set up by Henry VIII. Germane to the present argument is his

significant decision to place:

> "Over the revenues and the entire management of the school ... neither priests, nor the Bishop, nor the Chapter (as they call it), nor noblemen, but some married citizens of established reputation. And when asked the reason, he said that, while there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in these".61

He refers, of course, to the Mercer's Company.

If Erasmus is the benign presence behind and Colet the scholar teacher of English humanism, then More is its political apologist. His was a vita activa lived in the world of secular politics, whose guiding principles are set down in Utopia.[62] It describes a communistic society ordered according to reason and ruled by reasonable men, an ideal society in which the 'learned' can rule only if future rulers have experienced the right kind of education. More grasped thoroughly the connection between education and politics. Pauline scholars would be the natural heirs to such an inheritance, a perfect state whose function was "to provide an equal distribution of work, material goods, and amenities for all its citizens; these aims, important as they are, remain subordinate to the main purpose of making the pleasures of learning and knowledge available to everyone and all these aims are achieved in turn by the rule of the most erudite members of this society."[63] More attached great importance to the moral integrity of the princeps, the philarchs and priests of Utopia, who, by virtue of their natural gifts and rigorous education, must maintain the moral order which makes for the good and pleasant life, the reward of pleasure. As warning, More penned the History of Richard III, a corrosive portrait of non-moral statecraft. Richard's actions

being unnatural and unreasonable, he lacks "vertue", which is "lyfe ordered accordynge to the prescripte of nature",[64] and the "exercise of vertue" is what brings recognition of the truth and realisation of the good in the communal life of the Utopians; which is to say, of a good humanist. Christian virtue and knowledge stand as the cornerstone of his ideal commonwealth. He tried to make of his own life an exemplum of how the philarchs should behave.

Sir Thomas Elyot, erstwhile pupil of both Linacre and More, in his The Book named the Governor,[65] crystallised the wisdom and faith of the early humanists and injected their idealism into future generations of Englishmen. The treatise had a lasting influence upon the nation. The playmaker, John Redford, for example, translated the pith of Elyot's text into a tautly structured series of dramatic images in Wit and Science see Chapter III), a play whose remarkable originality was to set in motion fundamental changes in the evolution of Tudor drama and which, in itself, is a paradigm of both drama in education and education in drama. Elyot's work is a monument to humanist education and ideals, a summation of every tendency alluded to in this chapter. It marks the triumph of the middle class: they can henceforward claim, with confidence, that they are born to rule, for, "if knowledge led to virtue, and virtue alone qualified a man to rule, then, according to Plato's and More's plans, those who are devoid of knowledge and virtue had to be eliminated from the ruling group, and men from the lower orders of society who proved their abilities had to be brought into it".[66] However, the book succeeds more subtly. It exists as a

model for any who seek a share in guiding the destiny of a nation. It demonstrates to the nobility how to stay in the race; to the parvenu it shows the means whereby he can legitimise his position; to the poor but ambitious it provides a blueprint, in modern parlance, of 'how to make it'. Elyot put paid forever to the view expressed by a certain gentleman as recorded in Pace's De Fructu (1517):

> "This gentleman, hearing one of the party praise good education, burst into a tirade against scholarship. 'What rubbish', he cried, 'All learned men are paupers - even Erasmus complains of poverty. By God's body, I would rather my son was hanged than he should be studious. Gentlemen's sons should be able to sound the hunting horn, hunt cunningly, neatly train and use a hawk. The study of literature should be left to the sons of peasants'".67

I shall have occasion later to delve more fully into Elyot's views via a detailed study of Redford's Wit and Science (see Chapter III). In summary, however, Elyot believes in an all-powerful king committed to the right ruling of the "public weal". However, the monarch cannot succeed without the aid of governors to administer and execute the laws of the land. His book lays down an educational programme for future governors. He proposes a thorough grounding in Latin and Greek enhanced by a comprehensive study of the standard classical authors. Dialogues are favoured as a learning device. History is warmly extolled - "there is no study or science ... of equal commoditie and pleasure". Recreational pursuits are to temper the rigours of learning, for they not only relax the spirit and give delight but also develop the mind and body. Among these pursuits he rates highly music, shooting with a

longbow, hunting, chess and dancing. Knowledge and virtue mark out the gentleman, and, as Berowne is later to observe:

> "Learning is but an adjunct to ourself,
> And where we are our learning likewise is".[68]

3. Sermons, Education and Drama

By 1530, English national consciousness had taken on a markedly more self-confident tone. The new dynasty and its advisers strove to regain credibility abroad and to establish peace at home. The new administrators were from the middle class that had so assiduously cultivated its strength against that day when it would come into its own. They had experience behind them, history to substantiate a view of politics that commended strength and moral fibre as the means of survival, and they had acquired an education, greatly enriched by the New Learning, whose excellence was reflected in the cultural life of the times.

Drama did not remain untouched by the social and political changes. Indeed, it may even be said to have helped bring them about. The drama of the public place still had a good course to run as Fr. Gardiner has shown.[69] But a new kind of drama was growing alongside traditional forms, which was more intimate and more professional, which more overtly tackled moral and intellectual questions such as preoccupied the new ruling classes, and which combined the erudition of the New Learning with the skill in argument of an earlier age. England was still a Catholic country. The ties with the past persisted. The umbilical was strong. Though the New Learning brought powerful new influences to bear

upon the national psyche, yet it did not induce a severance. And so the early drama of the Sixteenth century reflects a mingling of old and new. The plays are polemical, witty, serious and scurrilous in the same breath, tackling themes that are central to political, social and cultural beliefs. Performances are full of vigour and panache, alive with a new self-awareness. The vernacular is seen flexing its muscles, building upon the innovations of the New Learning, upon the past glories of Chaucer's tales and allegories and of Langland's Piers Plowman, a work whose didactic and narrative drive, digressions and all, teems with highly dramatic episodes and exchanges which cry out for stage production.

The pre-Reformation interlude came of age alongside the more traditional cycle and Saint plays but, even as it furthered the realignment of faith and politics, it continues to assert the basic tenets of Catholicism, to present in a new and more professional format the message of the pageant plays. Both forms derive strength and inspiration from the sermons of the mendicant preachers. Their impact upon the drama is of seminal importance, for, in borrowing from and adapting their preoccupations and style, the early playmakers forged a form of education in drama which was to have startling influences. So, too, thought G R Owst. The final chapter of his pioneering work, Literature and Pulpit in Medieval England, opens with the statement that: "The student who comes fresh from a study of medieval homiletics to the greatest of the Elizabethans can hardly fail to be impressed by its twofold contribution

to the realism and moral purpose of Shakespeare's maturer stage".[70]

Professor Owst was the first to pinpoint the impact of sermons on drama,[71] yet, although his name crops up in many an erudite work, later scholars have lacked assiduity in following up his lead,[72] nor have his insights been applied in detail to a body of texts - unfortunately the challenge lies beyond the scope of the present study. While a range of varied influences shaped the development of the early drama, chronologically the mendicants' homilies set the pattern as regards tone and style, form and content. The preachers had also to become actors of sorts,[73] to become alternative entertainers, if they were to capture and to hold an audience habituated to the secular (and unGodly) appeal of menestralli, mimes, jogoloures and histriones. They had, in every sense, to divert. Clerics undoubtedly wrote plays too from an early stage.[74]

By an appropriate irony, drama almost immediately came under attack, especially its practitioners. Their activities were grudgingly deemed permissible only "if þou do it for nede, to haue þi sustenance þerby, because þou do non oþer craft to lyvyn by".[75] The English Dominican, John Bromyard, inveighed against "the miracles of Foolish clerics", while asserting that "few there are whose business keeps them from new shows (or pageants - novis spectaculis), as in the plays they call Miracles". He blames the Devil and his rout for "leading away those who intend to go and hear the word of God to the taverns or to the pageants".[76] In sermon

allegory, tavern and pageant are virtually synonomous terms. The Lollards set down their objections in predictably vituperative language in a tretise of miraclis pleyinge:[77]

> "Myche more pleyinge of myraclis benemeth men ther bileve in Crist, and verré goynge bacward from dedis of the spirit to onely syngnes don after lustis of the fleysh, that ben aȝenus all the deedis of Crist, and so miraclis pleyinge is verré apostasye from Crist, and therfore we schall nevere fyndyn that myraclis pleying was usid among Cristene men". 78

There is a great deal more in that vein. A later reformer, the vitriolic Bishop Bale, was to think quite otherwise.

Finally, there is Bishop Grosseteste of Lincoln, a notable disapprover and a fine preacher, who centred theology firmly on the Bible and actively applied its precepts in his preaching. He was appointed the first reader to the Franciscans after arrival at Oxford in 1224, and his interest in their studies continued throughout his life. Grosseteste "stood for the reformation of society by a reformed clergy".[79] He therefore laboured to make the Franciscan preachers redoubtable propagators of the spiritual force of the gospel. Grosseteste's influence upon the mendicants emerges to striking effect in the drama that evolved from their preaching. The basic tenets of his belief throughout inform the moral interlude in the earliest stage of its development. And yet he attacked playing, setting his sights specifically on the Feast of Fools, whose incitements to dubious appetites are vehemently denounced both in his Statutes and in his diocesan letters.[80] Grosseteste's efforts at suppression have an added importance since,

as one-time Chancellor of the University of Oxford, the education of future clerics and public servants fell under his aegis. Certainly, the university appears to have enjoyed a remarkable stability during his period of office. It would be interesting to know the degree to which his diocesan policies were applied to the feasting and playing within university precincts.

Not all clerics opposed the new spectacles. Ranulf Higden, traditionally the author of the Chester plays, lent them his support, while, in 1426 at York, William Melton of the Order of Friars Minor S.T.P., "a very religious man a Biblical scholar and a most famous preacher of the word of God",[81] gave his approval to what the York officials themselves describe as "a certain sumptuous play of the Old and New Testaments compiled in different pageants to be performed every year, and put on at diverse sites of the aforesaid city on the feast of Corpus Christi".[82] Brother Melton "commended the said play to the people in several of his sermons, by affirming that it was good in itself and most laudable".[83]

Despite clerical attacks upon plays and entertainers, both flourished; where plays were concerned because playmakers transformed the sermon into a dramatic event, so that words in the service of the Word were made flesh in the persons of seasoned performers alive to the demands of a paying public. What was it the playmakers plundered from sermons? In the first place, language. The mendicants enriched and exploited the vernacular to great effect. They were skilled anecdotalists,the moralised tales being brief,

colourful, often more ribald than those of their secular rivals.[84] They fashioned panegyrics to the Virgin, to counteract the love themes of the minstrels, and achieved a telling realism in their depiction of people and everyday events. They offered verbal illustrations of moral issues in a direct and simple language, which present a glowing panorama of the contemporary world; of men, women, birds and beasts that are the creatures of God. They bring alive the natural landscape, record its sounds and colours, sketch a domestic scene with the deftness of a de Hooch or a Vermeer, capture the milling life of towns and taverns, notably in their portraits of those who frequent them.[85] Such portraits and descriptions are the verbal equivalents of, for example, the superb misericords in Fairford church, the bosses in Norwich cathedral or the illuminations of the Luttrell Psalter (Add. MS. 42130). They made frequent use of the proverb, the plain man's concise and sardonic comment upon life .[86] "Here, at all events, speak living voices,"[87] as Professor Owst remarks of the mendicant preachers. When those voices came to be projected from the stage, the effect was immeasurably heightened.

A second notable feature of sermons is their tendency to allegorise. Many contemporary theologians regarded the spirit of the scriptures as more important than literal exposition.[88] Perhaps the most potent allegorical 'figure', among many (the Ship of Fools, for example), is that of the castle or fort, not surprisingly, since the feudal structure provided a living model. It stood for

the stronghold of virtue and evolved, eventually, complete with proliferating symbolic detail, into the stronghold of Man, God being the tutelary presence pervading the domain. Medwall's Nature is a brilliant dramatisation of the castle device, while Macbeth's castle, realistically observed comic porter and all, is an equally striking later manifestation. John Mirk evokes a variant allegory of the Virgin as a castle worthy to receive Christ made man.[89] As contrast, the Devil's fief came to be located in the tavern[90] and, just as the sister Virtues[91] were handmaidens of the Lord, so Satan's acolytes were the Seven Deadly Sins. When, in their sermons, the homilists personified the virtues and vices, they clothed them in the garb of contemporary men and women, which must have rendered their influence more real. How much more so when brought to life on the stage. Pre-Shakespearean drama abounds in examples of their progeny. Shakespeare has himself done the Vices proud in Henry IV, Parts I and II, Pride being memorably embodied in Falstaff's fleshy carcase, while Nym, Bardolph and Pistol personify the rest; their domain, the Boar's Head tavern.

If the preachers were expert at humanising the abstract and allegorical, they were equally adept at sanctifying or rendering heroic the human. Capitalising upon residual pagan influences, the saints of the church were portrayed as the 'heroes' of a new mythology, scriptural exploits being cast in the mold of those in such sagas as the Nibelungenlied and Beowulf.[92] Further, they embroidered these, like tapestries, with the kind of arresting minutiae calculated to impress an audience attuned to the notion that truth lay enshrined in the telling detail.[93] In an extreme form there is the promotion of St. Thomas à Becket not merely as an

exemplary saint figure but, more importantly, as a national hero.[94] In one sermon, an unmistakeably nationalsit note is struck: "Thus toke holy Thomas of Caunterbury his dethe full mekely, for right of holy chirche and (which is surely remarkable) the welfare of yngelonde".[95] John Mirk's panegyric to the saint intensifies the martyr-hero note, graphically recording every horrific detail of his death:

> "But when ȝay werne at ȝe chyrch dyrr outward on Robert Brok turnet a ȝeyne, and set || his fote in Thomas necke, and scraput out ȝe brayne of ȝe scolle about on ȝe payment". 96

The preachers wished to "make these holi seintis her meenys bi-twix god and hem (the devout)", [97] for in pleading the saints' intercession, the faithful really worshipped God, a crucial distinction found wholly unacceptable by the Lollards. The latter's objections were directed primarily at images, whose richly decorated elaborations blasphemously falsified reality. Christ's cross was frequently adorned with gold and silver, while saints were decked out as were rich contemporaries, "as thoghe thei hadde lyved in welthe of this world and lustus of their fleysche as large as ever dide erthely man",[98] as Shakespeare remembers when, in Macbeth, he describes the saintly and murdered Duncan as lying, "His silver skin lac'd with his golden blood". However, Walter Hilton, Canon of Thurgarton, proclaims: "What scripture conveys to clerks, that a picture is wont to exhibit to layfolk".[99] How much more so moving images or plays couched in a vernacular by turns racy and moral poached from the preachers' verbal armoury.[100] The drama's didactic thrust cut deep. No wonder it was both exploited and feared, that the

guilds and middle classes espoused it. It is not over-fanciful to view sermons and the drama as their education for survival. The accession of Henry VII brought them their reward.

In their sermons, the preachers not only reinforced faith but exposed social evils with a corrosive single-mindedness. Professor Owst's fascinating chapters[101] devoted to this aspect of their art teems with colourful examples. They inveighed forcibly, excoriatingly against evil and injustice at all levels. No stratum of society either ecclesiastical or secular escaped their onslaught. Bromyard's catalogue of complaints by the poor against the rich at the Last Judgment, in his sermon 'Furtum' from the Summa Praedicantium, is powerfully inflammatory,[102] while John Mirk, in his sermon for Advent Sunday, sets the scene of the Final Trump in an equally uncompromising style.[103] The writer of the Towneley 'Last Judgement' must surely have been well acquainted with both texts. The correspondences with Mirk's description are uncannily close,[104] even if it is difficult to estimate the degree of indebtedness of play to sermons.

The Towneley cycle abounds in such correspendences. Cain, in 'Mactatio Abel', is a deftly etched example of the bad husbandman, such as Mirk characterises in his sermon for Prima Quadragesima.[105] Outstanding examples of preachers' satiric venom aimed at feudal tyrants, unjust judges and lawyers can be found in 'Herod the Great'[106] and 'Pharaoh';[107] Pilate in 'The Scourging'[108] - his opening speech might have been penned by Bromyard; and Annas and Caiaphas in

'Colphizacio'.[109] The 'Secunda Pastorum' is rich in sermon lore, especially as it relates to the labouring poor. The First Shepherd's opening complaint is a brilliant summary of the condition of the oppressed poor.[110] Its unnerving resemblance to Bromyard's 'Furtum' leaps off the page. Both Dominican and playmaker present a dangerously apt political statement to the audience. In an educational sense, both fully intend the listener to become politically aware. Bromyard's accusations are embedded in an overwhelming canvas of the Last Judgment; the Wakefield master catalogues the abuses direct to the viewer and sets the scene of what is to follow. The one relentlessly builds a furious diatribe against oppression; the other pens a terse outburst whose effectiveness derives from its dramatic presentation. Every picture tells a story. Which is the point to which the educative process has evolved from the sermon to the drama. In this context, the censorship and abuse of plays and players is more readily understood.

Equally suggestive correspondences may be found in the other cycle and non-cycle plays. Occupation and Idleness also opens with a plaint against the times,[111] another reverberation of Bromyard's 'Furtum', though Occupation's tone is more one of long suffering endurance than the bitter anger of the First Shepherd. The Chester Nativity has parallels with episodes in the Festial of the ubiquitous John Mirk. Both the Octavian and Sybil episode and the story of the midwives incorporated in the play can be found in his sermon entitled De Nativitate Domini Nostri Ihesu Christi et Eius Solempnitate.[112] Both eposodes typify the exempla or moralised anecdotes which, "whether historically true or fictitious, drawn from sources both ancient and

contemporary, secular as well as religious",[113] enlivened sermons even as they pinned down moral imperatives. The scriptural parable was a prime model, but mendicants ransacked every available source for telling <u>exempla</u> - tales of the marvellous,miraculous, or mysterious, nature,[114] personal reminiscences both real and hypothetical, the latter being narratives in which a "speaker put forward for his illustration an imaginary but perfectly natural or possible situation in real life",[115] and classical material,[116] whose most common source was the popular <u>florilegia</u> used as school textbooks.

The importance for drama of the <u>exempla</u> is the ready made models they provided for the shaping and presenting of a story. They lent muscle to dramatic practice. The writers of the cycle plays flexed their sinews upon these models in the shaping of their narratives. The best of them perpetuate the tradition of vivid storytelling so that their unobtrusive yet masterful handling of the moral, social, political and aesthetic implications woven into their designs would not have been lost upon an audience accustomed to the homiletic tradition of almost two hundred years.

A curious gloss on the classical aspect of sermons is provided by the appearance of the "deuyll" Mercury in the Digby play of <u>The Conversion of St. Paul</u>,[117] which is remarkable on several counts. It is a fully worked out Saint play, that traces the hero's career from before to after the blinding moment of conversion by means of five skilfully juxtaposed scenes bounded by a Prologue and an Epilogue, requiring, as in the 'diablierie' of scene three, a series

of startling theatrical effects - "Here thei (Belyal and Mercury) shal vanyshe away with a fyrye flame and a tempest"[118] - which links it to the goings-on around the Hell's mouth of pageants and, casting into the future, to the simple shock effect of Nother Louer nor Beloued's explosion on the scene in Heywood's A Play of Love[119] and the more spectacular court interludes and masques of the early Sixteenth century. The narrative moves at a galop, yet the visual impact must have been truly impressive. Further, while the play was almost certainly intended for outdoor performance, in the manner of the pageants,[120] it could as easily have been played indoors, the only adjustment necessary being the substitution of hobby horses for real animals. The work thus subsumes within itself two alternative modes of presentation, both popular in origin, the mystery play and the interlude. They, in turn, owe a radical debt to the Medieval sermon.

4. Conclusion

It would be instructive to be able to look in considerable detail at the influence of sermons upon particular pageants and interludes, since the importance for drama of the mendicant preachers is incalculable, even though it will never be possible to pinpoint the exact degree of indebtedness of the one to the other - chronology favours the belief that sermons helped secularise drama and provoke it to a lusty and colourful life. Sadly, the scope of the present work precludes such an exercise. However, in the chapters that follow,

the interaction will, I hope, emerge naturally in the course of exposition.

Sermons and plays were influential educative means to provide a more rounded education to the laity denied the more schematic curriculum of the clergy. They engendered a wordly wisdom, generated a social awareness and always cautioned the individual to look to his self and soul. Sermons embodied the essentials of faith, offered guidelines for the good life, gave vivid instances of the consequences of sin. Moreover, they demonstrated how good and evil co-existed in the world and could daily be observed in the behaviour and lifestyle of contemporaries at all levels of society. Sermons taught of those experiences and beliefs common to all men and women. When their verbal images came to be transformed into emblematic dramas, so that both eye and ear received the message, then it can truly be said that a form of universal education was perenially available to all. While the theatre of the public place gave colourful life to education in drama, the interlude, by virtue of its modest proportions and requirements, the small troupe needed to stage it, purveyed that education to a more mixed and far-flung audience, many of whom had further benefitted from the changed conditions of education as summarised earlier in this chapter; had acquired a national consciousness and a sense of their own destiny; had come under the spell of the New Learning.

It is now time to look at the new drama, to see how playmakers grafted humanist ideals upon the mendicant inheritance to create sturdy vehicles for the transmission of faith and of a shrewder social and

political consciousness; to note its ubiquity, the wide range of audience to which it appealed and its invasion of the halls of "the great tradition", among them the school halls. The entry of the schools upon the dramatic stage marks a new and auspicious phase of its evolution. Hitherto, education had flourished through drama. Now drama was about to permeate education in such a way as to nurture newer and more flexible forms, and to introduce a new kind of performer, the schoolboy.

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> "We command and strongly enjoin you by virtue of your obedience that as regards the Feast of Fools which is replete with vanity and soiled with sensuality, hateful to God yet acceptable to devils, you absolutely forbid it to be held in future on the Feastday of the Holy Circumcision of Our Lord in the Church (? Cathedral) at Lincoln".

And again, in 1238:

> "We forbid completely, in virtue of the specific authority of an Apostolic Rescript that execrable practice which it is customary to observe in several churches of celebrating a Feast of Fools lest the house of prayer become a house of wanton games and the anguish of the Circumcision of Our Lord be derided by mockeries and lasciviousness".

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83. Ibid., I, p. 43 and II, loc. cit. Brother Melton did point out, however, "that citizens of the aforesaid city (York) and the other foreigners coming in to it during the said festival, attend not only to the play on the same feast, but also greatly to feasting, drunkenness, clamours, gossipings and other wantonness". cf. Ibid., I, loc. cit., and II, loc. cit.

84. Consider the following anecdote warning against the dangers of kissing, which is wholly worthy of Poe:

> "In vitis patrum I rede þat a frere, smellyng swete onde & breth in kyssyng of a womman, was temptyd sore to lust of here. sche dyed. þe frere on a nyȝt toke here body out of þe graue, and kepte þe body priuely in his selle, tyl sche stanke. as ofte as he was temptyd, he smellyd to here body, & be þe stynche of here þe lust of here swete breth was stoppyd from his smellyng".

Jacob's Well (see Note 75), op. cit.,p. 219, 11. 3-8.

85. Cf., for example, Ibid., p. 134, 11. 16-23 (a begging intruder); MS. add. 21253, fol. 26 (a leper); MS. Roy. 18. B. xxiii, fol. 80 ("osterleres").

86. Cf., for example, John Bromyard, SP, 'Caritas', quoted in G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., p. 42 - "Many hands make light work"; Jacob's Well (see Note 75), op. cit., p. 70, 1. 12- "for pride goth beforn, & schame folwyth after"; Dan Michel's Aynbite of Inwyt, edited by R Morris (EETS, OS 23, 1866), p. 206, 11. 14-5 - "zuo longe geþ pot to þe wetere: þet hit compþ to-broke hom"; John Mirk, Festial, edited by Theodore Erbé (EETS, ES 96, 1905 & Kraus reprint, 1975), p. 230 - 'A mayde schulde be see, but not herd'. The close relationship between proverbs and the drama has been interestingly set down by Mikiko Ishii in two related articles: (i) 'Joheph's proverbs in the Coventry plays', Folklore, 93, No. 1 (1982), pp. 47-60; (ii) 'The Medieval Art of Preaching and the Weaver's Pageant', whose typescript was loaned to me by Professor Wickham who, as Chairman of the Advisory Council of Theatre Research International, has passed it to the Editor for publication. In the first article, Mikiko Ishii demonstrates how proverbs are used both to characterise and as ornamental and structural devices in the argument. In the second, she shows how proverbs are "used in the construction of the plots of the episodes" in the same Joseph play, " and that this construction is itself indebted to the medieval art of preaching. (p. 1 of typescript).

87. G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., p. 55.

88. Ibid.,pp. 56-61, for the significance of Master Robert Rypon's sermon of c. 1400 on the subject.

89. John Mirk (see Note 86), op. cit., Assumption Sermon, pp. 228-9.

90. Jacob's Well (see Note 75), op. cit.,'De Gula', pp. 147-8.

91. The Castle of Perseverance, in The Macro Plays, edited by Mark Eccles (EETS, OS 262, 1969), p. 1, transcribed from Folger MS. V. a. 354, f. 191. Here the Sister Virtues have become dramatic stage figures identified by distinctive clothing.

92. John Mirk's Festial (see Note 86) is crammed full of examples testifying to his flair for colourful yet direct story-telling, as, for instance, in his narrating of the story of Adam and Eve, Noah, Abraham and Isaac, op. cit., pp. 66-7, 72-3 and 77.

93. Ibid., pp. 203 and 140. John Mirk weaves an audacious fiction round Mary Magdalene, and offers a quaint aside upon the knees of St. James (the Less), who "vset forto knell, soo moche yn hys prayers, þat hys kneus soo þekke of ylle, þat þay weren boched lyke a camele".

94. There are numerous sermons honouring his feast-day, a notable example being lodged in Hereford cathedral - MS. Heref. Cath. Libr. P. 5. 2, Fol. 99b-107. Cf. G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., pp. 126 ff.

95. Ibid., p. 133, quoting MS. Harl. 2247, fol. 23b.

96. John Mirk (see Note 86), op. cit., p. 42. The magnificent boss (No. 235) in the nave of Exeter cathedral, whose carving captures dramatically the moment of martyrdom, is further evidence of the remarkable impact St. Thomas's career and death had upon the popular imagination.

97. G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., p. 135, quoting MS. St. Albans Cath. fol. 10.

98. Ibid., p. 144, quoting MS Add. 24202, fols. 26 et seq.

99. Ibid., p. 137, quoting MS Roy. 11. B. x, fol. 108.

100. An equivalent contemporary experience has been the phenomenal success of the National Theatre's staging of the Mysteries in Tony Harrison's version. Christians and atheists, agnostics and acolytes of more exotic faiths, all have flocked, children in tow, to the various performance venues.

101. G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., Chaps. V - VII.

100. John Bromyard, SP, 'Furtum', quoted in Ibid., pp. 300-2.

103. John Mirk (see Note 86), op. cit., pp. 4-5.

104. The Towneley Plays (see Note 14), op. cit., No. XXX, 'Iudicium', p. 381, 11. 442-57.

105. John Mirk (see Note 86), op. cit., pp. 86-92.

106. The Towneley Plays (see Note 14), op. cit., No. XVI, 'Magnus Herodes', pp. 166-81.

107. Ibid., No. VIII, 'Pharao', pp. 64-78.

108. Ibid., No. XXII, 'Flagellacio', p. 243, 11. 1-13.

109. Ibid., No. XXI, 'Colphizacio', pp. 228-42, especially 11. 181-239.

110. A C Cawley (see Note 34), op. cit., pp. 43-4, 11. 1-54.

111. Occupation and Idleness (see Note 26), op. cit., p. 192, 11. 1-40.

112. John Mirk (see Note 86), op. cit., pp. 22-3.

113. G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., p. 149.

114. Robert Grosseteste, Dicta Theologica of Robert Grosseteste: A Selection, edited by Gordon Jackson (Lincoln, 1972), p. 23, wherein will be found a deeply moving exemplum culled from nature in which the Bishop takes a rose to allegorise Christ's quintessential being.

115. G R Owst (see Note 13), op. cit., p. 177.

116. Jacob's Well (see Note 75), op. cit., pp. 159-60.

117. The Conversion of St Paul, (i) in The Digby Plays, edited by F J Furnivall (EETS, ES 70, Kraus reprint 1967); (ii) edited by Glynne Wickham (see Note 1).

118. Ibid., (i), p. 46, sd.

119. John Heywood, A Play of Love, edited by G R Proudfoot, (MSR, 1978), 11. 1322-7.

120. Glynne Wickham 'The Staging of Saint Plays in England', in The Medieval Drama, edited by Sandro Sticco (New York, 1969), pp. 99-119.

CHAPTER II

DRAMA AND EDUCATION BEFORE THE REFORMATION

1. Introduction

One of the most dispiriting aspects of contemporary society is the proneness to reduce ideas to systems. Whereas in the sixteenth century education might be defined by what men were, nowadays it has acquired a capital 'E' to become a system that prescribes what a man shall become. What is more, Educational systems tend to promote only current ideology, in which respect there is rarely either a national or a transcendental norm common to teachers and taught to guide belief. It is not even as if, to borrow E M Forster's memorable phrase of Cavafy, men stand "at a slight angle to the universe"[1]; the universe has been left to space programmers. Most men strive "to gain the whole world", happy "to suffer the loss of /their/ own souls". The soul, meanwhile, continues to enjoy a precarious existence within the confines of art. Things have never been quite the same since, on 2 September, 1642, the theatres were closed by the First Ordinance of the Long Parliament against Stage-plays and Interludes.

It was not just that "the distracted estate of England, threatened with a cloud of blood by a civil war, calls for all possible means to appease and avert the wrath of God appearing in these judgments".[2] The drama in England had first overtly, then in veiled terms, concerned itself with man's avowed view of the universe and his stance towards it. However, whereas formerly both rulers and ruled were agreed as to the origins and nature of that universe, even if they were not agreed as to the means of worship ordained by the Creator, by 1642 there was no latitude for disagreement. James I's

prophetic aphorism, "No bishop, no king", had reached fulfilment. Henceforth, belief was to be stringently regulated by the state, so that it was inevitable that "public stage-plays (and interludes) shall cease and be forborne".[3] They constituted too effective a fifth column, especially since their teaching could reach well beyond the literate alone. In its heyday, the moral interlude was perhaps the most widespread and potent vehicle of belief. Its evolution and transformation are, therefore, seminal to an understanding both of the development of drama in England and of the role of education in that development.

Before tracing the pre-Reformation history of the interlude, it is as well to make clear what precisely I mean by the term, which I shall use to include sixteen printed texts. Several of these have been designated moralities as distinct from interludes - The Castle of Perseverance, Everyman, Wisdom and Mankynde, to name four. It may well be there are literary distinctions to be made between the two, but they are too marginal to affect the central issues. Dramatic distinctions relate to mode of performance: the morality was still essentially a visual pageant entrusted to amateurs; the interlude was the medium of the new professional troupes who relied upon acting and costume allegory for the majority of their effects. Bernard Spivack's statement that: "The morality plays are allegories because they are dramatised metaphors, and they are moral allegories because their metaphors allude to the moral and spiritual conditions of human life"[4] is true of all sixteen texts written between 1450-1534. He might have added that most of them are also boldy critical of political institutions and of the social order, and are repositories of utilitarian knowledge that affords the spectator a broad general education

such as, in former times, had been provided by the mendicants. Their aims are didactic; dogma dictates form, though the considerable variations in method imbue each with a markedly individual flavour. Finally, most of them are very entertaining; serious and comic episodes are skilfully juxtaposed to banish monotony, to make learning pleasurable; imaginative use is made of the playing space and performance skills are fully exploited. "The 'please and teach' formula of Horace"[5] is achieved most successfully by the brilliant author of Fulgens and Lucres, but the other makers of interludes had instincts that were no less sure. As B observes towards the close of Medwall's play:

> "...the substaunce of this play
> Was done specially therfor.
>
> Not onely to make folke myrth and game,
> But that suche as be gentilmen of name
> May be somewhat movyd
> By this example for to eschew
> The wey of vyce and favour vertue;
> * * * *
> This was the cause principall,
> And also for to do with all
> This company some myrth."[6]

In Dryden's phrase, "to instruct delightfully", and not just those who "be gentilmen of name", as I shall hope to show later.

Two plays, The Castle of Perseveraunce and Everyman, are not included in the present survey. They are too preoccupied with concepts of a moral order to do more than peripherally voice more mundane dissatisfactions. Besides, like the Digby Mary Magdalen, they are nearer dramatic icons; the stage pictures require a large space to have impact. In terms of dramatic technique they more closely resemble the pageant cycles. They are not interludes, though they might conceivably fall within E K Chambers'

definition of the term, namely, "that an *interludium* is not a *ludus* in the intervals of something else, but a *ludus* carried on between (*inter*) two or more performers; in fact, a *ludus* in dialogue".[7] Alternatively, *interludium* may mean play-acting between the courses of a meal or as subsequent entertainment. Even *The Conversion of St Paul* can effectively be staged indoors with the use of hobby-horses, which were still in use in 1520, when they formed part of the celebrations for the Emperor Charles V held at the Archbishop's palace by Archbishop Warham during Whitsun week. There was a triumph and dancing followed by a banquet:

> "This triumphe beyng donne, the tables were covered in the saide Hall, and the banqueting dyshes were served in, before which rode the Duke of Buckyngham, as Sewer, upone a whyte Hobby, and in the middest of the Hall was a partition of boardes, at which partition the Duke alyted of from his Hobby, and kneeled on his knee, and that done, tooke agayne his horse backe, etc..."[8]

Professor Wickham postulates an admirable *via media* which traces the meaning of *interludium* to the Roman practice of punctuating lengthy feasts with amusing diversions. Which speculation:

> "...at least explains why the word should have been applied to a secular subject like *The Interlude of the Student and the Girl* as early as AD 1310; why Wyclif in his *Tretise on Miraclis*, c. 1385, should have thought it inappropriate for a priest to 'pleyn in entirlodies'; why the Mayor and Aldermen of London should have issued an Edict in 1418 forbidding mumming in the Christmas season and extended the wording to cover 'playes, enterludes, or any other disgisynges...' and why Robert Mannyng of Brunne in *Handlyng Synne* of almost the same date should have coupled the word 'entyrludes' with singing, wrestling and summer games."[9]

Essentially, therefore, the moral interlude is dialogue between players presented at indoor entertainments, whose matter combines moral concern with a critical attitude towards the secular *status quo* and whose comic

episodes leaven the serious didacticism. The pleasure principle in learning adopted by the makers of moral interludes enjoys an impeccable ancestry in the sermons of the mendicant friars,[10] and in the mystery plays, pageants and tournaments[11] which originated in the medieval period and which continued to delight spectators throughout the period of the interlude's infancy and growing maturity.[12]

2. The Pre-Reformation Interlude: Education in Drama

The sixteen texts under review are all that remain of an extensive body of artefacts - others may, in time, surface - yet their range of tone and style suggests they may be taken as characteristic of the genre.[13] Only four can with certainty be attributed to authors: Nature and Fulgens and Lucres are the works of Henry Medwall (1461-1512)[14]; John Skelton (1464?-1529) wrote Magnyfycence[15], while he is also credited with Good Order, of which there remains but a fragment[16]; The Four Elements[17] is certainly the work of John Rastell (1475?-1532), but Calisto and Melibea[18] and Gentleness and Nobility[19] have also been ascribed to him.[20] The latter are both unusual works, the one a quite remarkable cutting from the Spanish La Celestina of De Rojas[21], the other an articulate disputatio on the theme of the title. Their ambience differs markedly, however, from The Four Elements, which makes Rastell an unlikely choice of author. Both plays are nonetheless products of minds as educated as those of the indentifiable authors. Medwall went to Eton and King's College, Cambridge; Skelton attended both Oxford and Cambridge. Rastell, whose education was begun in 1489 in the Guild of Corpus Christi at Coventry, completed it at the Inns of Court in London. Two were clerics, Rastell being the

layman. As one would expect, their works reveal a catholicity of interest and a range of influences - sermons, mystery plays, medieval poetry and prose; the fifth column of humanism, of which comedia erudita is a recognisable ingredient; the reawakened interest in history; the need for education.

The anonymous authors whose works have not yet been mentioned are no less skilled in the making of plays. The Conversion of St Paul[22] stems from the tradition of Saint. Plays but its economy, narrative drive, unusual use of 'diablerie' and adaptability to indoor performance mark it out as an important transitional piece.[23] Lucidus and Dubius and Occupation and Idleness are to be found in MS 33 housed in the Winchester College archives.[24] The former is a dialogue between the individuals of the title, whose catechistic nature rarely rises to the dramatic, though it is an engaging enough exchange. Its companion piece is an altogether different matter, a triangular conflict which prefigures so much that will come to be associated with the interlude form. While its setting is rural and provincial, a quality it shares with Mankynde, which it pre-dates by some twenty years, its educational bias renders it quite unique. It constitutes the first significant milestone in the development of those ties which bind drama to education with such important consequences, as I shall shortly demonstrate. The no less remarkable Mankynde[25] is an unusual example of community drama, as I have already shown (see Chapter II), wherein the writer exploits group dynamics to provoke thought upon doctrinal and social issues central to both audience and performers. Wisdom[26] fulfils a similar function for an audience associated with the legal world. Indeed,

internal evidence strongly suggests the play was probably first performed at the Inns of Court: the satire of Part III is aimed unerringly at the legal profession, while the interlude requires elaborate staging, whose expenses could more easily have been met by the Inns. Another group of plays, composed between c. 1499-1516, are notable for their aptness as touring vehicles and for the economy with which they project their socio-religious material. Mundus et Infans[27] can be played by a cast of two[28], though there is no reason, in my view, why it would not have been played by three actors. The doubling of Mundus and Consyence, Foly and Perseveraunce underlines more purposefully the play's allegorical aim, leaving the third actor to delineate the progressive stages of Infans' decline and final reconciliation, as Age, with his Maker. Hyckescorner[29] and Youth[30] require only five players. Thereafter, their resemblance to each other is only superficial, and discussions of chronology[31] which accept Youth as the precursor of the other do not seem to me proven. Their dissimilarities are far more striking. Youth has more in common with Nature, being almost a synoptic version of Medwall's fuller, more colourful tapestry of the callowness of the young. Hyckescorner, on the other hand, pits Christ's surrogate, Pyte, against Satan himself in the form of the eponymous anti-hero. The struggle for man's soul, identified in Frewyl and Imagynacyon, is altogether more serious in presentation, despite the exuberant comic episodes. E T Schell believes "that the author of Hyckescorner does not seem particularly concerned with the action of his play", that: "There is a gap between the matrix of social criticism and the particular action of the play; one fits in a loose sort of way with the other, but neither impels the other",[32] while Professor Ramsay talks of

"the disappointing failure of Hickscorner to return to the stage and get converted together with his two brothers in vice".[33] But Hyckescorner does not return because he is about his business of tempting the religious from the path of truth, which is why Pyte/the Resurrected Christ departs into the world to counteract the forces of evil. The interlude is a concise and tellingly simple allegory of the Passion, Death and Resurrection of Christ and of their import; a fact the original audiences would fully have comprehended. The play still awaits an apologist.

John Skelton's Magnyfycence would seem more remarkable had it not been preceded by Medwall's two plays, which so brilliantly dramatise the question of what kind of man is most worthy to serve among the ruling body. Skelton's piece concentrates upon the degree of largesse appropriate in a ruler and explores the nature of Liberty and Measure as contributory factors in the assessment. Medwall inquires into the very nature of those who rule; Skelton explores aspects of the ruler. Fulgens and Lucres is, moreover, the first wholly secular play in the English language; Skelton's drama merely furthers the process of secularisation while retaining residual undertones of the Catholic imperatives. Magnyfycence is essentially retrospective. Calisto and Melibea and Gentleness and Nobility, despite their old-fashioned format, are more forward-looking in their incipient humanism. There remains Johan the Euangelyst[34], a curiously hybrid work, written c. 1520, which owes a great deal to earlier practice both in its presentation and in its sentiment. Irisdision's admonition to Eugenio, "Over the mede of mekenesse marke thou the waye", and his subsequent descriptions of via recta and via obliqua are reminiscent of Piers Plowman's offer to lead the errant to

the castle of Truth in Book V of Langland's masterpiece - "Ye moten go thorugh Mekenesse etc".[35] The catechistic elements put one in mind of Lucidus and Dubius. The interlude's manifest encouragement of erudition as a source of virtue links it with The Four Elements and with humanist ideals of education, the Evangelist being, in his two appearances, the epitome of an erudition learnt at the feet of Christ Himself. The play was toured, I imagine, by a company whose circuit included school halls, and provincial halls crammed with aspirant gentry.

Audiences and auspices are crucial factors in determining the provenance of the moral interludes with regard to the continuing evolution of both education and drama at this period. They help not only to explain to whom the material is addressed but also to define the nature and aim of that material and to demonstrate the variety and effectiveness of the method, which itself constitutes a significant stage in dramatic practice. Mystery plays and many sermons were outdoor events. They were also seasonal. Being something of a solo turn, the mendicant tailored his text closely to the church calendar though, significantly, the major themes of the Incarnation, the Passion, Resurrection and Last Judgment, and events in the life of the Virgin provided the core of his preaching; the essentials of belief, that is, as one would expect of those reaching out to the faithful at grass roots level. The mystery cycles were dramatic re-enactments that were also public affirmations of faith, deeds rather than words. Cycle performances were communal acts of worship; they were also statements of community solidarity. As such, they were a paramount influence in late fifteenth century England at a time when the civil wars threatened to sunder the

fabric of society. Audiences were, in the main, the middle class and the peasantry. However, though the nobility were actively decimating each other, it cannot be assumed they were unacquainted with sermons and sermon lore or with the impact of the cycles. Government was still largely a clerical monopoly, so that preaching must have informed the daily lives of the magnates. Besides, their chivalric up-bringing and code were imbued with Christian principles as were the beliefs and practices of humbler citizens. Richard II, as early as 1398, attended a cycle at York,[36] Queen Margaret watched the Coventry plays from the house of a local grocer, Richard Wodes,[37] and provincial nobility would undoubtedly have interested themselves in proximate events affecting their lives and those of their tenants.

The influx of mendicants had been provoked by the growing popularity and influence of secular entertainments - tournaments, pageants,[38] and the varied offerings of *menestralli*, mimes, *jogoloures*, *lusores* and *histriones*, whose wares were as easily purveyed indoors as out. By the mid-fifteenth century they had begun to pool their individual resources and to form themselves into versatile peripatetic troupes. Their ubiquity is well established in records, though only a fraction of the surviving documents have so far been researched for evidence. "Unidentified players, *lusores*, and *ludatores* appear in fours and fives in the fifteenth century"[39] in Kent, whose records are unusually full. The popular Dover road provided easy access to towns *en route*, as also the road linking the Cinque Ports. Canterbury, Dover, Folkstone, Rochester, Hythe, Lydd and New Romsey are among the towns visited from early in the century. Performances before the mayor and his brethren are obligatory - "coram maiore" at Dover

in 1452/3 and annually between 1467-70; "plaiers which plaied afor the Maier and diverse of his brethren" at Sandwich in 1497/8: and "histrionibus in praesencia ballivorum et aliorum proborum hominum" at Shrewsbury in 1483.[40] As deputies of the monarch, they are exercising their authority to censor works prior to public performance. Market-place, guildhall, and tavern all proved acceptable venues - "Itm' sol' to the Playres in the hyghe strete" at Lydd in 1484/5[41]; "Item lusoribus apud le swanne" at Hythe (1499/1500); and, in May 1487, at Canterbury, "Et solut' histrionibus domine Regine existentibus apud le Swan cantuar' in presentia maioris et confratrum suorum".[42] The audiences must, therefore, have been mixed. The Conversion of St Paul and Mankynde represent the kinds of play that might have been presented. Although the latter is undoubtedly of East Anglian origin[43], its highly moral story, racily told, is no handicap to performance elsewhere. At Canterbury, in 1477/8, for example, there played the histriones of the King, the Queen, the Duke of Gloucester, and of the Duchess of York;[44] at New Romney, in 1477/8, the mimi of the Earl of Arundel, the Queen, the Duke of Gloucester, and of the King[45]; and at Shrewsbury, in 1496, the players of the Prince, the Earl of Derby and of the Earl of Shrewsbury.[46] Indigenous the plays and players may have been, but their material must have had universal appeal, or else there was little point to their travelling. The bailiff's accounts for Shrewsbury are notable for an entry of 1519/20 which records payments "histrionibus domini Regis ex consuetudine" /my italics/[47] which was no doubt as true of other companies.

A range of institutions hosted the acting troupes. The account books of the priories of Durham, Maxstoke and Thetford[48] record visits, while the Account Rolls of Selby Abbey[49] confirm the monks as avid patrons of playing. In the year 1478/9, there were visits there by eleven different companies

of players including those of James Tyrrell, Lord Scrope, the Duke of Gloucester, the King (twice) and of the Earl of Northumberland.[50] The itinerary of Edward IV's players in 1479/80 well illustrates troupe movements and the diversity of audience before which they performed; provincial, presumably, at Canterbury[51] and Lydd[52] in the south, before boys at Eton College[53] en route to the monks of Selby Abbey. I shall have occasion to return more fully to the Eton College MSS, whose significance for drama remains as yet unexplored. Certainly, they confirm a strong tradition of drama in the school, which reinforces the belief derived from the entries in the Winchester College accounts and Hall Books, and from MS 33, that drama and education were linked to mutual advantage from an early date. Chantries entertained actors, as Richard Beadle has shown from the accounts of the chantry at Mettingham[54] which, in the early sixteenth century, had fourteen scholars in care. So, too, did the universities.[55] To be financially viable, performances at Mettingham must have been attended by the surrounding populace, a mixed audience therefore. I doubt whether university performances were open to any but members of the university.

Apart from those pre-Reformation interludes that have survived, there must be hundreds that have not. Seven of the sixteen survivals are printed by the Rastells; doubtless, John was impelled by concern for the success of his theatre at Finsbury Fields.[56] It would be comforting, at least, to believe that the extant sixteen represent the best of their kind - there is no gainsaying their excellence - but, as with the masterpieces of ancient Greek drama, there can be no certainty that pieces as striking or even better have not been lost. Troupes must zealously have guarded their 'meal tickets', so that the texts were unlikely to find their way into print. To

have allowed the existence of a body of works available to any company was to run the risk of extinction. Regular new offerings to audiences on the circuits guaranteed the survival of a company in a competitive field; an audience, what is more, that might consist of peasantry, local gentry, nobility, clerics, schoolboys or a mixture of any or all types. Which raises the all-important questions of literacy and of the nature of the playmakers' material. However, before dealing with these matters, I wish briefly to touch upon performance space.

The playing area was most frequently a hall - guild, mayoral, college, monastery, university, liveried or court. The diagrams and illustrations of Appendix I, which trace the development of the liveried hall (Fig. 1), give a fair general picture of the performance ambience. The hall usually occupied the whole central part of a house from ground to roof (Fig. 2). The principal entrance was through the passage from behind the screen (Figs. 3a & 3b), at the opposite end to which was a raised platform or dais on which the high table was placed, though neither Rufford Old Hall nor Smithills Hall, here illustrated, possess the dais (Figs. 4 & 5). The other tables, long and narrow, were arranged on each side and extended the length of the hall from the dais to the screen. The floor of the hall itself was either of stone or of tiles, covered with straw or rushes. The fire was on a hearth at the centre of the hall under the louvre (Fig. 5), though in the early sixteenth century it came to be located halfway down one side of the hall (Figs. 6a & 6b). The exterior of Rufford Old Hall shows clearly the central louvre and the external building necessary to remove the fireplace to the south wall (Fig. 7). Fulgens and Lucres shows that such a change had already taken place at

Lambeth Palace by the close of the fifteenth century; the mock joust would have been pointless had there been a central hearth. At one end of the hall, above the passage behind the screen, there was usually a musician's gallery; at the other end, high up in the wall behind the dais, was a small window opening from the solar. The roof was commonly of open timber work often richly ornamented (Fig. 8).

Most interludes are likely to have originated in the liveried or court halls, though Mankynde, the Winchester plays, and The Conversion of St Paul are exceptions. A propos The Conversion, Professor Wickham observes that:

> "The author's frequent apologies for his own and his actors' 'simpleness' and lack of literary expertise strongly suggests that the play belonged - at least in its final form - to a Guild of artisans who were willing to travel and to adapt their script and presentation to the environment offered by their sponsors and hosts in exchange for hospitality and a modest fee";[57]

and that Mankynde is "a script for performance in a medieval banquet hall or in a provincial inn",[58] though Mark Eccles settles firmly for an inn.[59] Moral interludes were occasional pieces but, as evidence of touring suggests, the majority travelled well. They were seasonal or influenced more specifically by the church calendar. However, Wisdom is too elaborate a piece to travel though it could have been played at different venues within the same environment, such as the Inns of Court, as I shall hope to show. Medwall's plays were almost certainly written to be performed at Cardinal Morton's court. Fulgens and Lucres has a cast of seven; Nature has twenty-two parts, which can be played by seven actors. Perhaps only six were engaged for the former, since the doubling of Fulgens and Gayus points the allegory nicely. Four men and a boy is the putative size of a professional group, which means Medwall's pieces could not have been toured.

On the other hand, Skelton's Magnyfycence could have done the rounds. It does not call for elaborate staging and its cast of eighteen characters can be performed by five players doubling up. It does, however, require lavish and varied costuming, which may have proved a drawback. Henry VIII increased the royal company from four to eight players, but there is no evidence to suggest that the entire company ever took to the road, nor that peripatetic groups ever exceeded five in number. As regards content, the laureate's play is written primarily for a literate ruling class, yet its universal implications lend it wider currency.

Two factors influenced the playmaker in his choice of material: what the audience already knew and what it might be taught. In the first case, the extent of literacy is crucial. J W Adamson defines literacy as:

> "...the ability to read an English book, whether printed or in manuscript. The readers, therefore, are persons who had not had the advantage of schooling as the schools of the fifteenth and sixteenth century usually understood their business or, if they had ever gone to school, had drawn small profit from their attendance."[60]

He goes on to argue for a greater general literacy at the time than is commonly supposed nowadays, which he traces to three main sources; the grammar schools, the chantries and the independent (or adventurer) teachers, in which respect he cites the cases of Archbishops Rotheram and Cranmer:

> "Archbishop Rotheram, when endowing his native place with Jesus College, gave as a reason for choosing that town /Rotheram/ for its site his gratitude for his own debt to that place to an unattached teacher,...a man learned in grammar /who/ came there and successfully taught him and many others ('plures alii')...Thomas Cranmer was born in the Nottinghamshire village of Aslocton in July 1489 'and learned his grammar of a rude parishe clerke in that barbarus tyme /John Foxe is speaking/ unto his age of fourteen yeares when he went up to Cambridge'."[61]

H S Bennett confirms such a view.[62] The pursuit of literacy was markedly affected by the fluidity of the social order.[63] Although the years of civil strife in the fifteenth century reduced the ranks of the nobility, it was business as usual for the merchants, while the growing numbers of the professional middle class kept going the machinery of government and looked to their own benefit. Shrewd and prescient, they prepared to come into their inheritance, no less than the rebuilding of England upon the cessation of hostilities. Hundreds of small landowners added to their properties by marriage and purchase, and, in consequence, sent their sons to schools and universities:

> "...in order to enter the law, ... in order to perform the arithmetic of trade, commerce, and estate management, in order to staff the administration of kings, nobles, and bishops who were turning now more and more to the literate laity and away from clerical servants."[64]

The economic upsurge is well illustrated by the county of Kent, where 'wealden houses', a type of timber-framed hall house of some size and considerable comfort, still survive in great numbers to this day, between 1,000 and 2,000 of them, "built between the late fourteenth and the early sixteenth century by minor gentry and the larger yeoman".[65] Like Alexander Iden, "esquire of Kent", perhaps, who asks:

> "Lord, who would live turmoiled in the court
> And may enjoy such quiet walks as these?"

and concludes that:

> "This small inheritance my father left me
> Contenteth me, and worth a monarchy.
> I seek not to wax great by others' waning
> Or gather wealth I care not with what envy;
> Sufficeth that I have maintains my state,
> And sends the poor well pleased from my gate."[66]

Alexander and "the poor" he sends "well pleased" from his gate are the emergent literate, prime fodder for educational sustenance by interludes. They probably constitute part of that growing percentage of reading men and women that may be deduced from Thomas More's guess that "farre more than fowre parts of all the whole divided into tenne, could never read englishe yet", even if the percentage is an approximation. However, it is difficult to ascertain exactly what proportion of them were rising gentry. Professor Hoskins, talking of urban communities, comments that:

> "Roughly one-third of the population owned no property at all beyond the clothes they stood up in, the tools of their trade, and a few sticks of furniture: they lived at the level of Italian hill peasants today. Another third of the population depended wholly or very largely on wages and could exist with some degree of anxiety so long as work was regular and harvests about normal. Above this wide base, the pyramid rose through a middle class of prosperous artificers, merchants, and professional men, to a needle like point."[67]

Many of those who swelled the "wide base" of urban poor had migrated from the countryside, where "the bulk of the damage caused by enclosure and conversion to pasture had been done before 1485"[68] - "the poor" at Alexander Iden's gate! The mighty clamour against enclosures post-1500 seems to have had a great deal to do with the spread of printed books and with an upsurge of literacy,

> "The Act of Henry VIII, 34-5, c.i. (1543) 'for the advancement of true religion and for the abolishment of the contrairie'... forbade the reading of an English Bible by women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving-men of the rank of yeoman or under, husbandmen and labourers."[69]

By 1543, therefore, the government clearly believed that reading in the vernacular was so widespread a skill among the lower social ranks, irrespective of sex, as to require severe control in the light of new

religious imperatives. Hence the injunction that "playes or enterludes medle not with interpretacions of scripture". The prohibition defines one important area of knowledge, the rudiments of the Catholic faith, which the schismatic Henry had no desire to undermine. Tyndale's Bible and others such, whose vernacular rendition of accepted articles of faith laid them open to uneducated scrutiny, were thoroughly disapproved of by the moderate reformers. Prior to the break with Rome, in 1534, the fundamental truths of Catholicism were still uncontroversial matter with which playmakers might fashion their dramatic wares which, in turn, were to be both the tools and the weapons of popular education, the reverse of swords into ploughshares. Which is why, c. 1535-40, in a letter from Henry VIII to a York Justice of the Peace, interludes are condemned as causes of "seditious conduct".[70] What audiences already knew was learnt privately, in schools and such-like places or circumstances of learning, or via books; or publicly, by means of the drama. The review of audiences and auspices has helped establish the ubiquity and popularity of moral interludes. Their provenance resides in the fruitful and allied effects of education and drama, whose evolutionary energies account mainly for the second factor in the playmakers' choice of material, namely, what audiences might be taught.

In a parallel context, that of cultural forms, Robert Redfield notes that

> "The great tradition is cultivated in schools or temples; the little tradition works itself out and keeps itself going in the lives of the unlettered in their village communities... the two traditions are interdependent."[71]

The interludes were used, by means of the peripatetic professional troupes, not only to instil political awareness but also to educate the populace in general knowledge besides the doctrines and articles of faith of the

established church. They were catalytic spokesmen for "the great tradition", whose authors conveyed the lessons of the new learning in the full awareness of the persistence of "the little tradition". The customs and practices of the folk provide a continuous groundswell to the evolving cultural continuum of a nation. It should never be forgotten that, at this time, both the social ferment and the shifting strata of society make it likely that a majority of the playmakers will have grown up within "the little tradition", though they may eventually have found themselves ranked among peers from an alternative one. Several scholars have argued for the folk origins of the moral interludes.[72] While their insistence upon these roots seems sometimes over-emphatic, the pervasive spirit of those sources is undoubtedly an important factor. The antics of tempters and vices are cryptically signposted in minimal stage instructions - "Et verberat eos"[73] - or are inferred from exchanges leading often to a falling out:

> Idelnesse: In good faythe knave thou shalte beare me a strype.
>
> Yuell Counsayle: And thou shalte have another an I can hyt the a ryght.
>
> Idelnesse: Why smytest thou not come of.[74]

and:

> Hyckescorner: Beshrewe youre herte and put vp your blade
> Shethe your whytell or by hyr y^{t} was neuer borne
> I wyll rappe you on the costarde with my horne
> What wyll ye playe all the knaue
>
> Imagynacyon: By kockes herte and thou a buffet shalte have.[75]

But the performers, the majority reared within "the little tradition",

would have possessed all the skills necessary to improvise or 'choreograph' these exchanges, tumbling, leaping and miming acrobatically around one another to create an episode of swirling excitement as thrilling, for example, as the Chinese martial arts - the Bruce Lees of their day. They were far in advance of the Commedia del'Arte clowns whose antics have received far greater attention than those of their English forbears. "Each performer would have produced his own variations, but within a traditionalist framework"[76] and in collaboration with his fellows.

The "traditional framework" was provided by the playmakers, who "were brokers between learned culture and popular culture, and in a situation where great and little traditions coexisted, they were a fundamental fact of cultural life, welcome or unwelcome missionaries to the little community from the outside world".[77] They also decided upon the substance to be moulded so that, doctrine apart, they were able to promote other important issues. The Four Elements teaches geography and astronomy; most of the moral interludes foster an awareness of the evils of anarchy and misrule - they attach great importance to the acquisition of a sense of history. The vice figures, garbed emblematically as "galontys" in the "new gyse and the new jett", call to mind the knights and lesser nobility who condone and bolster the misdeeds of their masters, whose injustice and misrule must never again be allowed to disfigure and disgrace the realm. As Mankynde proclaims, having driven off his adversaries with a spade:

> "Yyt this instrument, soverens, ys not made to defende.
> Davide seyth, 'Nec in hasta nec in gladio salvat Dominus'."[78]

Mundus et Infans brings the Catholic view of history into sharp focus

by making Manhode a knight and by stressing his chivalric education. David Bevington misses the point when he asserts that: "The early portion of Mundus et Infans deals with the corruption of infancy by the blandishments of worldy riches and power; the later portion concerns the temptations to carnal folly, the sins of the flesh".[79] The world is not in itself evil; God would not otherwise have placed man in it. Worldly instincts are the natural heritage of man. It is the sin of Adam and Eve which makes man prone to corrupt and abuse them. Mundus' caution is, therefore, reasonable:

> "For of one thynge manhode I warne the
> I am moost of bounte
> For seuen kynges serven me
> Bothe by daye and nyght."[80]

They are, of course, the seven Deadly Sins, the surfeit of man's fleshly appetites, so that it is wholly appropriate that Mundus should "warne" Manhode of them. In embracing the sins, Manhode acknowledges, symbolically, his natural origins. That Mundus is not an evil figure is suggested by his exhortation to:

> "...haunte alwaye to chyualry
> I gyue the grace and also beaute
> Golde and syluer grete plente
> Of the wronge to make the ryght."[81]

Manhode is the forefather of Skelton's Magnyfycence, the son of Man in Nature. However, Conscyence teaches:

> "All myrthe in measure is good for the
> But syr measure is in all thynge."[82]

and advises his ward:

> "But good gouernaunce kepe bothe nyght and daye
> And mayntayne mekenes and all mercy."[83]

He warns against "folye and shame" and begs him "have God in mynde".[84]

Conscyence imparts to Manhode his spiritual inheritance. The playmaker

has presented a prehistory of man, has demonstrated that men exist in a secular world and must, therefore, live in its shadow both spiritually and historically. As Manhode notes:

> "Thoughe the worlde and conscyence be at debate
> Yet the worlde wyll I not despyse
> For both in chyrche and in chepynge
> And in other places beynge
> The worlde fyndeth me all thynge
> And dothe me grete seruyse."[85]

So Manhode, having already determined to be "conscyence servaunt", decides to "beleve...upon one god and persones thre":

> "For conscyence clere I clepe my kynge
> And his knyght in good doynge
> For ryght of reason as I fynde."[86]

Manhode's subsequent descent into "folye" and "shame" and his reclamation by Perseueraunce outline a putative history whose moral will have commended itself to all who found themselves, or hoped to find themselves, in positions of responsibility. The play dramatises the lessons of the recent past and posits a Catholic view of history as a guideline to future prosperity. "Mesure is tresure", so history teaches. Mundus and Infans is a superb example of a bridge between the two traditions. Moreover, its mobile three man troupe must have toured it extensively and to good effect. "The structure of the plot is essentially linear and episodic, organised by theme and variation",[87] yet it does not lack, as David Bevington maintains, "a direct and organic relationship of each part to a single whole"; nor is it "really two plays despite its brevity, with two parallel states of degeneracy and two conversions"[88] but rather a dramatised history of man from birth to virtual death, which explores the tensions inherent in his nature, which is both natural and Divine. The

Creation and Original Sin, the Incarnation and Passion, the Last Judgment, these three are the nodal points upon the arc of Catholic tragedy. That, too, hovers over the play, which in form resembles the ballad, a medium closely associated with "the little tradition". As presented by a trio of skilled professionals, there is nothing in Mundus et Infans that could not have been grasped and appreciated instantly by spectators at all levels of society, or that was not relevant to all Englishmen who hoped for a continuing prosperity in the land. It is a striking example of popular education.

Music and dance, which feature in several interludes, also well illustrate the traffic between the two traditions. Popular songs are "composed or adapted to meet the people's taste, and current among them".[89] 'Angelus ad Virginem', referred to in Chaucer's The Miller's Tale, is a good example of the best in medieval popular song. Folk-songs, as epitomised by the famous ballad 'Edward', are timeless and unaffected by fashion. The music may be invented for singing the poems; on the other hand, poems may be crafted to the pattern of existing tunes. The song, "Tyme to pas with Goodly Sport",[90] in The Four Elements, exemplifies the latter, while Rastell has skilfully woven the popular song into the fabric of his entertainment, which may well have been hugely enjoyed by members of the More circle in one or other of their liveried halls. The song is a "very close musical parody, in three parts, of a four-part song then current in London", and based so closely "that the purpose of parody is inescapable - it must have been intended for an audience then familiar with the original".[91] That Rastell intended the interlude to tour may be inferred from his

direction that, "yf ye lyst ye may leve out muche of the sad mater, as the messengers parte, and some of Naturys parte and some of Experyens parte, and yet the matter wyl depend convenyently, and than it wyll not be paste thre quarters of an hour of length".[92] Its resultant brevity, which would still include the popular song and dance, must have made it something of a 'box office' success. A more elaborate four-part version of the song is to be found in Henry VIII's Manuscript (British Museum, Add. 31922) where it is ascribed to the king and appears to a new text, "Adieu madame et ma maitress". "Tyme to pas" is printed in full at the appropriate point in the text and is one of the earliest examples of music printing in Europe.[93] Other interludes in which music figures prominently are Mankynde - a song early on as the evil trio "Exiant simul. Cantent.", a parodistic round or burden for the communal song and possibly music for their dance into which they drag the reluctant Mercy; Wisdom - it requires three differentiated pieces for dancing; Magnyfycence - a carol with throughset verses and a burden repeated in full known as "Hoyda, jolly Rutterkin", attributed to William Cornyssh;[94] Calisto and Melibea - "Et cantant" Parmeno and Celestina; Youth and Hyckescorner, in which it is the vice figures that take to song as they depart to pursue their profligacy, with the fallible representatives of mankind in tow. In the pre-Reformation interludes, music goes hand in hand with revelry and the more dissolute goings-on. "I pray the among us let us have a song,/For where armony is ther is amyte", Celestina tells Parmeno, but adds, when they have concluded their song:

> "How sey ye now by this, lytyll yong fole?
> For the thyrd parte Sempronio we must get.

> After that, thy maister shall come to skole
> To syng the fourth parte, that his purs shall swet,
> For I so craftely the song can set,
> Though thy maister be hors, his purs shal syng clere,
> And taught to solf that womans flesh is dere."[95]

The musical imagery is ripely salacious. In Skelton's Magnyfycence, Folly confirms that music and lechery are bedfellows:

> "So in theyr eyre I synge them a songe
> And make them so longe to muse
> That some of them renneth strayght to the stuse."[96]

For Shakespeare, music is "the food of love", the art most frequently associated with the forces of good, as most poignantly revealed at the moment of the death of Enobarbus, a noble graduate of "the little tradition". The potency of popular music is nowhere better illustrated than in the deliberations of the Council of Trent, whose concern at the widespread incursions of secular tunes into music accompanying the liturgy resulted in rigorous measures for the reform of church music. Palestrina's masterpieces mark the zenith of reformed practice.

As for dance, it is easier to illustrate the interaction of the two traditions than to apportion correctly the initial impetus. Take, for example, the Farandole, a linear form of the Carole or chain-dance, in which a linked line of dancers moves forward as they sing. The most characteristic Figures in the Medieval Farandole are three arched ones which, by the late fifteenth century, had disappeared, probably "because of the women's elaborate head-dresses that were in vogue. Both the hennin, the pointed hat like a dunce's cap, and the double-horned head-dress...are a hazard to an arched figure in a dance". By the early sixteenth century, "the raised arm had completely disappeared from upper class dancing", but: "It remained, of course, a characteristic feature of all peasant work",[97] as can be seen

in the Flemish Fair of Peter Breughel the Younger, though the dance he illustrates is the circular form of the Carole more popular in northern climes called the Branle, which is more rhythmic in character. In Rastell's The Four Elements, Sensuall Appetyte and Ingnoraunce lead the company probably in just such a dance, while it would have been ideal for the inn-yard or equivalent space in which Mankynde was played. It is more difficult to imagine how the dances in Wisdom may have been staged, but a circular chain dance of sorts would impart an apt ritual feel which, done 'widdershins', may well have induced a sensation of fear as real as the unease felt at the goings-on around Hell-Mouth in cycle plays. Documenting the history of dance is as hazardous as charting the Amazon, but the free interplay between the two traditions is recognisably there.

Finally, a firm instance of the process of transmission from little to great and vice versa. From as early as 1494 in Henry VII's reign, there existed a troupe of four "King's Players",[98] one of whose members was John English. The popularity and frequency of drama at court is well illustrated in the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber.[99] They record a regular flow of entertainment which embraced pageantry, disguisings, fools, tumblers, minstrels, bear-baiting and the visits of professionals from outside supplementing the offerings of the various royal troupes. The first mention of John English is in an entry for August 31st, 1501, the year in which Prince Arthur was married to Catherine of Aragon:

"Item to John Atkinson for John Englishe vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}"[100]

John Atkinson devised disguisings; English seems to have been in statu pupillari to him. Eight days later, on September 8th, we read:

"Item for John English pagient vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}"[101]

and on November 3rd:

"Item to John English for his pagent vj^{li} xiij^{s} iiij^{d}."[102]

Thus, the year 1501 seems to have been one in which English served an apprenticeship to Atkinson in the staging of disguisings, and was allowed to mount two pageants, tableaux vivants as opposed to mouvementés, within a comparatively short space of time and both as part of important dates in the church calendar - September 8th is the Birthday of the Blessed Virgin Mary; November 3rd falls within the octave of the Feast of All Saints. By January 7th, 1502, English has himself taken to the boards:

"Item to John Englishe the player x^{s}."[103]

- quite a substantial sum! - and an entry for February 18th records:

"Item to John Atkinson and Englishe
in full payment of all their reke-
nynges from xijth tide to this day xiiij^{li} xvj^{s} iiij^{d}."[104]

which I take to mean that English was involved with the Christmas Revels as an equal with his former mentor. Master English is next found contributing to the celebrations held to mark the engagement of Henry VII's eldest daughter, Margaret, to James IV of Scotland, as, for example, on the evening of 25 January, 1502, when:

"Incontinent after the Pryses /for the jousting/
were given, there was in the Hall a goodly Pageant, curiously
wrought with Fenestrallis, having many lights brenning in
the same, in the Manner of a Lantron, out of wich sorted
divers Sortes of Morisks. Also a very goodly Disguising of
Six Gentlemen and Six Gentlewomen, which danced divers Dances.
After which there was a notable Banquet or Voyde."[105]

Margaret departed for Scotland on July 8th. Henry VII's players accompanied the entourage. Upon her arrival in Scotland, after the day's jousting on August 11th:

> "After soupper the Kynge and the Qwene being togeder in hyr grett Chamber, John Inglish and his companyons playd, and then ichon went his way."[106]

Two days later, on the 13th:

> "After Dynner, a Moralite was played by the said Master Inglishe and hys Companyons, in the Presence of the Kyng and Qwene, and then Daunces war daunced."[107]

John English's talents must have been considerable for him to have become, within a mere two years, the leader of a company by August 1503, a post he still commanded as late as 1526.[108]

English's career is significant for a number of reasons. First, it demonstrates how an actor 'trained' by experience, progresses from the more statuesque form of the pageant to the more skilled and active demands of the moral interlude. By which I do not imply a qualitative hierarchy; to each form its special function. In which respect, "...the King, the Queene, and all the States departed into Westminster Hall, where they beheld an Interlude till the Disguising came."[109] On that occasion, in 1501, the priorities were unequivocally set down. Secondly, it establishes not only the intimate relationship between the types of dramatic entertainment but also implies their evolutionary chronology. Finally, social mobility and opportunity are exemplified by his professional advancement. John English entered the new era, in 1485, as tailor to his sovereign, as seems quite clear from entries in the household accounts for that year. Among "Item delivered to John Englissh sythen the Kinges commyng to towne" were, for instance:

> "Item, xiij, yerdes fyne blak chamlet, for a cloke for the king;...
> Item, vi. yerdes i. quarter velvet blak, for a shortgowne

> for the king;...
> Item, i, yerd di velvet, blak, for the lynyng of the cape of the cloke;..."[110]

and,

> "Item, for vi. yerdes light tawney; the yerd iiij.s. iiij.d., for servitours unto the kinges grace, fette by John Englissh - xxvi. s.
> Item,...for ij. yerdes quarter blak; the yerd, x.s., for a gowne for Maister Mathewe, sewer to the Kinges grace - xxii.s. vi.d."[111]

He clothed not only the king, but all the king's men, apparently. It is easy to see how he came to be involved in disguisings and pageants; notable that he took to acting with such rapid success that, within eighteen months, he had become leader of the "Kings pleyers". He effectively took his chances; that he could do so to his rapid advantage testifies to the growing literacy and to the new opportunities in education, not all of them to be found in schools. More significantly still, every time John English performed a "Moralite", he brought to an artefact from "the great tradition" all the insights and skills of "the little tradition".

Similarly, groups of town players roaming the countryside also helped cross-pollinate cultural values, since their tours took them to differing venues. King's College, Cambridge, was visited by players from Canterbury (1483) on the Feast of the Purification /2 February/ and from Maddyngley (1489) on the Feast of St Thomas the Martyr /29 December/,[112] presumably because the latter had an appropriate Saint's play. Groups from Norwich, Dunwich, South Elmham and Yarmouth performed at the Mettingham chantry.[113] Selby Abbey entertained players from Beverly (pre-1483), York (1527), Ricall (1528) and from Howden, Leeds and Doncaster, all in the year 1531/2.[114] In the late fifteenth century, the Selby monks regularly rewarded players

"in festo sancti Germani", "in festo deposicionis sancti Germani", and "in Transitu sancti Germani",[115] undoubtedly the Patron Saint of the abbey. This singular devotion to St Germain must have led them to devise a play in honour of the saint, which commended itself to the monks of the abbey. Or perhaps, less altruistically, the worship of saints is prey to the call of regular cash flow. The connection between Eton College and the players from Uxbridge seems genuine enough,[116] while Henry VII's court played host to provincials from Essex (1494 and 1496), Wycombe (1494) and St Albans (1502).[117] In this respect, Shakespeare's introduction of "Pyramus and Thisbe" into the nuptial celebrations of A Midsummer Night's Dream is an inspired distillation of his boyhood memories of provincial interluders which, at the same time, constitutes a comic emblem of the main play's central preoccupation. Shakespeare's plays are the apotheosis of "the little tradition".

3. Drama in Education

The pre-Reformation interludes, written almost certainly by educated men, were a fecund means of popular education. Their universal popularity meant that their lessons reached home throughout the land, made both entertaining and acceptable by performers who could tailor their professional skills to the specific needs of any given situation. Conversely, their regular performance at seats of learning, whether schools, universities or Inns of Court, must undoubtedly have impressed those brought up in "the great tradition". How frequent were these visitations? What impact, one wonders, did the recycled learning have upon schoolboys, university scholars and student lawyers, if any at all?

i) The Universities and Inns of Court

The evidence for the universities, while not extensive, indicates the prevailing tendencies. At Oxford, the accounts of New College[118] and Magdalen[119] itemise payments to players from the 1480s onwards. Early references at Cambridge can be found in the accounts of King's Hall for the year 1448/9.[120] Similar entries in King's College accounts date from the 1480s[121] - King's records deserve closer scrutiny than they have so far received. Visitant troupes at Oxford include Lord Stanley's (1485/6), the Duke of Bedford's (1495/6) and Henry VIII's (1533-5 and 1536/7) at New College;[122] at Magdalen, only the Queen's (1530/1) and the King's (1534/5) players[123] appear late in the period, though the term interludium in respect of other migrant professionals is used on three occasions - in 1502/3, 1511/12 and 1512/13[124] - at a time when it is probable interludes proliferated. At Cambridge, the Duke of Norfolk's (1448/9), the Duke of Exeter's (1454/5) and one of the King's players (1500/1) are identified at King's Hall.[125] At King's College, the presence of Prince Henry's interluders "ludentibus in Aula Communi" (1503/4)[126] is the most striking reference to external players, and confirms the favoured staging area. Otherwise, there is some evidence that scholars created their own ludi and 'disguysynges' seasonally,[127] though of greatest interest are those entries which highlight humanist inroads. King's Hall scholars put on a "comedia Terentij" in 1510/11 and again in 1516/17,[128] while those of Queens College performed a "comedia Plauti" in 1522/3.[129] As I have already indicated, the interludes at Oxford were almost certainly given by visitors. The only reference to what may be

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original efforts on the part of Oxford scholars are to be found in the Liber Computi of Magdalen for the year 1506/7, where there are payments to two named individuals for their involvement in a Saint's play:

> "Solutum domino burges pro scriptura lusi b⟨ea⟩te marie madgelene x^d
>
> Solutum Kendall pro diligentia sua in luso Sancte marie Magdalene Mandato vice presidentis." xij^d [130]

In one respect, at least, Cambridge seems dramatically to have been one jump ahead of its rival.

Documentation of drama at the Inns of Court is, to date, even thinner on the ground, while the only book devoted to the subject is woefully inadequate.[131] However, a number of articles tucked away in divers publications extend our knowledge considerably. The tradition of Christmas revels at the Inns was part of a body of customs "which all members of the Inns accepted, and in which they were expected to participate (unless specifically exempted in their admission, but this exemption was infrequent)."[132] The Christmas officers comprised the Marshall, butler and Steward, and the Master of Revels. The procedures are graphically set down by Sir John Spelman (see Appendix G),[133] and failure to discharge one's duty was a punishable offence. Thomas More, as elected Marshall for 1510/11, was constrained to pay a fine in lieu of service:

> "M^d that it is so agreed by the Rewlers and others of the Benche that for that Tho^s More was ij times appoynted to be Marshall and letid by divers casualtees, and for other causes them movyng, the said Tho^s shal paie to the seid Companie vli., and therfor to be discharged of the kepyng of the Blak Boke and also of the Marschalshippe for euer; the which he paied to Will^m Machall, Tresorer, in the presence of the seid Rewlers."[134]

D S Bland[135] and Albert C Baugh[136] have unearthed MSS which extend knowledge of dramatic activity at the Inns of Court. Records of Furnivall's Inn show that, as far back as 1407, "iiijd" was paid: "Pro Pane pur les Revellors".[137] There is an arresting entry for Christmas Day, 1412:

> "Thomas Thwaits solvit pro interludio vjs viijd."[138]

In 1416, expenses include:

> "Pro lusoribus et ludo suo vijs
> Pro coena lusorum et aliis expens." blank in MS[139]

while the 1417 entry notes:

> "Pro coena ludensium." blank in MS[140]

There are Revels expenses entered for the years 1464, 1470, 1480 and 1485 but, at Christmas 1491, the entry reads: "Players, Harneys for the Armorer, Handgunnes, horses, Rushes, Music and Mynstralsy extraordinary",[141] while in 1494:

> "The Hall was at Christmas feast this yere garnished with hangings of Crymosin Say and the greater part of the Hall fairlie matted for the Revellers to daunce upon, which mattes conteyned 34 yerdes...They had lyons, the waites, the harpur and other perticulers, etc."[142]

The "Rushes" of 1491 were possibly used for similar matting. Albert Baugh's MS discovery adds a further colourful stroke to the emerging picture of legal revelling.

> "Memorandum yt on Sonday y^{e} iij^{d} day of Januarye Anno quinto h vij & Anno domini 1489 /i.e. 1490/ ye disgysyng of y^{e} Inner Temple went to grays Inne after y^{e} gyse affore tymes vsed And on sonday$_{e}$ next after y^{e} disgysyng of grays Inne came in lyke wise to y^{e} Inner temple And on satturday penultimo die Januarij proximo sequ/en/te yer ther supped in y^{e} forseyd Templ/e/ which came thyder for to see y^{e} disgysyng Therle of Oxford Therle of derby Therle of Schrowsbury, lord hastynges & lorde chamberlane /verso/ & xvj or xvij othere knyghtes besides squyeres & gentylmen etc."[143]

What conclusions can be drawn from these finds? If it cannot be stated with any certainty that Christmas festivities were a regular feature of the Inns in the late fifteenth century, they appear to be so by the early sixteenth, when Sir John Spelman so fully describes protocol. Nor is it possible to determine exactly what form they might have taken, though it may be assumed that the revelling differed only marginally from similar activities at court and elsewhere. D S Bland believes "that the /Furnival's Inn/ manuscript throws no light on the question of amateur dramatic performances at the Inns during the fifteenth century. In fact, its evidence, where it is not ambiguous, points to the patronage of external professionals".[144] But no external troupe is named. It is surely more likely that the players were members of the Inns and the plays primarily for internal consumption. The cryptic allusion, in 1412, to "interludio" eludes interpretation. However, the existence of Wisdom after 1465 allows for the speculation that the "players" thereafter may well have tackled such a piece. The "Rushes" and "the Hall fairlie matted for the Revellers to daunce upon" would have been apt for the elaborate dances that are central to the interlude, while the satirical depiction of legal chicanery in the third section will have been seen as relevant by an audience made up of the legal profession. The costumes are elaborate, the cast large - to be effectively performed it requires five or six actors and twelve boys. The Inns could certainly afford to 'run up' the costumes and were conveniently situated to call upon the services of boy performers who would already have been participants in pageants and disguisings. In the light of such facts, I think it more likely that the "Players" in

nothing in the world they could not do, and any horse, however wild and unruly he might be, would soon be made to obey them." Which they duly prove. "The horse is the King of France. ...When the comedy was concluded, eight ladies came into the room in fancy dress and danced the 'Pabana' with eight gentlemen whom they chose as partners. After them came eight gentlemen, who were disguised, and who also danced."[148] Hall's description of Roo's "disguisyng" is remarkably similar. The Inner Temple "disgysyng" which Albert Baugh has unearthed was undoubtedly what it claimed to be.

However, it does further reinforce the belief that Wisdom was first performed at the Inns, since formally it has developed unmistakably from the disguising, is, indeed, an excellent example of the evolutionary process from ritualised entertainment to a freer dramatic form. For, while it is true that the interlude is openly didactic, the spokesmen have been more fully characterised. Satan, for example, is a wholly three-dimensional figure of evil who, in his temptation of Mynde, Wyll and Wndyrstondynge, is effecting the ruination of three recognisable types from the gallery of sermon lore. Scene II generates a genuine dramatic tension since their corruption stands in the balance, which would not be the case with mere mouthpieces. The playmaker reserves his more formal effects for Scene III, in which he presents powerful and pointed emblematic tableaux underlining the nature and degree of the fall from grace. The scene is a disguising in all but name, with the three defaulters presenting their new estate before ushering in dancers who epitomise visually their fallen condition. It is the method of the outdoor pageant, the court disguising turned on its head. The stage directions give clear indication of origin.[149] With its

the Furnivall's Inn MS were amateurs, members of the Inn, writing and devising their elaborate entertainments as part of a steadily growing tradition of dramatic practice. Which does not preclude the likelihood of visits from professional troupes.

In commenting upon his discovery, Albert Baugh refers to Edward Hall's well-known description of "a goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne" in 1526, which goes on to mention "the effect of the plaie", "the yong gentlemen that plaied in the plaie", and to note that "this plaie was so set furth with riche and costly apparel, etc."[145] Mr Baugh maintains that "in Hall's usage disguising and plaie are synonymous, that this disguising was a political morality or interlude, that it was elaborately costumed and that it was performed by the 'yong gentlemen' of the Inn".[146] While he may be right about the performers and the rich costumes, the first half of his statement is a more dubious assertion. Where disguisings are concerned, Lydgate's usage must be considered the norm.[147] A disguising is a visitation of gift-bearing, disguised 'strangers' introduced by a Presenter, who explains the choice of disguise in terms of the occasion. Having offered their gifts, they dance and depart. Hall would have been able to distinguish between disguisings and plays. What he was probably recording, in 1526, was an entertainment similar to that described by Martin de Salinas, Ambassador of the Archduke Ferdinand at the Imperial Court, in a letter dated 21 June 1522, which followed upon a banquet given by Henry VIII - "After supper... a French play was performed by young gentlemen. It was a farce, and in it the King of France and his alliances were ridiculed". The farce told how Friendship, Prudence and Might pledged amity and concluded an alliance. "Thus, there was

formal set speeches, disputatio , rich costumes and dances requiring "Music and mynstralsy extraordinary", Wisdom is a striking amalgam of sermon lore, social criticism and the new attitude to responsible government nurtured by the growing middle class. As moral allegory, its roots are impeccable, the social satire is topical and, since it "ben done ...for devocion honestye and myrthe", it would not have failed to please the markedly mixed audience of nobles "& xvj or xvij othere knyghtes besides squyeres & gentylmen etc." Its circulation among the named Inns "after y^{e} gyse affore tymes vsed" would be wholly understandable. It is possible to conclude, therefore, that there existed a tradition of dramatic entertainment performed by members of the Inns during the period under review and to hazard reasonable guesses as to the nature of some aspects of the 'amateur' entertainment.

ii) The Schools

Evidence of the existence and nature of drama in schools is comparably nebulous. T H Vail Motter's survey[150] is quite inadequate as regards the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. His few extracts from the Eton Audit Rolls and Books,[151] which he takes from 1505 onwards, have transcription errors among the early entries. Those for Winchester are fuller but taken mostly at second hand from M E C Walcott's William of Wykeham and His Colleges.[152] They complement E K Chambers' selection.[153] Both authors perpetuate errors and fail to include telling entries from the Bursarial Accounts in the Winchester College archives. Vail Motter's chapter on St Paul's School lacks detail.[154] The whole area of study has been awaiting adequate and thorough investigation.

Winchester College

Both Eton and Winchester colleges allow for Boy Bishop ceremonies in their Statutes. At Eton it is in the form of an addendum below the body of the text.[155] At Winchester, scholars are allowed to celebrate matins, vespers and other offices on Holy Innocents' Day /28 December/, but there is no explicit mention of the Boy Bishop.[156] In most other respects the dramatic histories of the two colleges differ markedly. The Bursarial Accounts and Hall Books at Winchester (see Appendix A)[157] record a ceaseless flow of "ministralli" and include such other exotica as visits by a royal lion,[158] which must have enlivened the boys' daily grind. The earliest record of seasonal entertainment possibly by players is in 1398/9:

> "In dat' lusoribus Civitatis Wyntōn ven' ad coll' cū suo tripideo ex curialitate xij^{d}."[159]

The activity may well be dancing, which, it may be assumed, is celebratory. The college Hall-Book for 1401/2 registers visits by two "histriones" early in January (1402) - during the Feast of Fools? - and by four "istriones" on 13 June, on which occasion they dined with the Fellows,[160] which could mean they were present to help the college celebrate the feast of Corpus Christi or Ascension Day, important moveable feasts which tend to fall between the latter days of May and mid-June. Not until 1409/10 does an entry allude specifically to a significant date:

> "In dat' /īntī/ lusoribus Civitatis Wyntōn die stōrum Innocenciū /28 December/ ij^{s}
> In dat' j citheratorī eodem die viij^{d}."[161]

In 1407/8 it was the "ministralli" who had helped celebrate Innocents' Day at a fee of "ij^{s} vj^{d}"[162], so it looks as if "lusores" and "ministralli" are being used synonymously to denote musical performers, the one primarily

dancers (or acrobats and tumblers, perhaps), the others singers and instrumentalists. The year 1410/11 confirms that players perform "in aula"; the wording and the sums paid differ, however:

"In dat' lusoribus ludentibus in aula in die Storum Innocenciu /28 December/ xx^d
In dat' lusoribus de villa xij^d."[163]

It could be assumed that the players "de villa" were entertaining on the same day, in which case the two sums add up to the equivalent amount paid to the participants in the previous year. In the following year, the same sum, "xij^d", is paid to the performers on Innocents' Day,[164] which tends to sustain such an assumption. But that seems to identify them with the players from the town. Who are the other players (1410/11) and why stress "lusoribus ludentibus /my italics/ in aula"? I tentatively suggest that perhaps, on this occasion, the "lusores" were not locals and did rather more than just cavort; that, even if it only took the form of word games or verbal clowning (like Morecambe and Wise), they offered simple, dramatic, extra-musical turns as part of the entertainment. The sums of money disbursed on the next two occasions, 1413/4 and 1440/1,[165] would imply that the feast was similarly celebrated, though in the latter year the wording changes to "In datis mimis dñi Cardinal...", which firmly points to a peripatetic troupe but may also signify a different kind of performance. At any rate, from 1398 to 1440 it can at least be said that entertainment in the form of singing and dancing seemingly accompanied the festivities surrounding the Boy Bishop on Innocents' Day.

An entry for the year 1459/60 gives rise to fresh speculation:

"Et in datis mimis sū /recte cū/ ministrall Comitis de Arūdell ex Curialitat' Dñi Custodis xx^d."[166]

It does not record the occasion of the visit, though it is likely to have been seasonal, but it does distinguish clearly between the "mimi" and the "ministralli". The wording "Et in datis mimis" recurs in 1465/6, 1468/9 and 1469/70.[167] What fare were these outside professionals offering? Mankynde, it should be remembered, dates from about this time, while Lucidus and Dubius and Occupation and Idleness, which form part of Winchester MS 33, have a probable date of composition c. 1450.[168] Are there any clues to be found there?

Lucidus and Dubius is less interesting dramatically than its companion. It is a duologue between the two individuals of the title, which centres upon the events of Genesis. Towards the close, an attack upon immoral clergy shows that the writer is socially aware. However, Ludicus is at pains to advocate the services even of a venal priest, since a sacrament:

> "As good it is of hym þat is noȝht
> as of a preest that is ouȝt,
> for no prestis goodnesse
> nothere no prestis wykkednesse
> may it apeyre he amende."[169]

Reactions to social evil apparently remained traditional. The piece is a catechism invested with a minimal dramatic life. It seems intended for public presentation. Dubius encourages Lucidus:

> "Ȝit telle here be-fore vs alle
> o thynge that y shal ask of the,"[170]

while later, in baleful mood, he clearly drops an aside to the audience:

> "Y know hym by the grete hode;
> he wolde me bete as he were wode,
> and made my buttokkis sore."[171]

There are hints, too, that the speakers 'acted', that they used tone of voice to convey emotional states underlying response.

Dubius: ȝit a question to thyn heed:
hou longe lay Crist deed?
That y wolde thou toldest me.

Lucidus: To speke so angerly it is no nede,
for y speke esely, pardé.[172]

There are even intimations of interlude structure. Dubius, an erstwhile pupil of Lucidus, has lapsed into spiritual ignorance, whose ravages the tutor attempts to repair during the length of the duologue. Dubius' unease is prompted by his awareness of clerical malpractice and hypocrisy, but Lucidus palliates the unease by extolling a life of the sacraments, since their spiritual value, he maintains, transcends human transgression:

"Be he /the priest/ neuer so cursed a wrecche,
nat open bat alle prevé,
He may asoyle by the office of ȝe cherche,
and Criste hym soyleth and not he."[173]

At which point the piece breaks off abruptly; we are to assume that the errant soul is reclaimed.

Lucidus and Dubius is inexpertly shaped, lacks dramatic pace and offers only marginal theatrical trappings. It is essentially in the tradition of, say, Caxton's Dialogues in French and English, adapted from a fourteenth century Book of Dialogues in French and Flemish, and intended to teach a language, French, by what is nowadays termed, in E.F.L. parlance, the "direct" method -

"Dame, que faittes vous laulne	"Dame, what hold ye the elle
De ces draps,	Of this cloth?
Ou que vault le drap entier?	Or what is worth the cloth hole?
Embrief parler, combien laulne?"	In short to speke, how moche thelle?"
"Sire, rayson;	"Syre, resone;
Ie vous en feray rayson;	I shall doo to you resone;
Vous layres au bon marchie."	Ye shall haue it good cheep."

"Voir, pour cattel,
Dame, il conuient gaignier."

"Ye, truly, for catell,
Dame, we must wynne."[174]

- an embryonic form of the colloquy, which Erasmus and Vives were to perfect at the turn of the century. Still, the Dialogue is a far pleasanter alternative to the learning of faith by rote and must have given satisfaction to at least some of its audience of future clergy, who may well have empathised with the energetic Dubius, himself once a clerk ("...sith þou were my clerk"), while noting dutifully the lessons of his mentor, the monk Lucidus ("Y know hym by the grete hode").

Occupation and Idleness is an altogether more sophisticated and original work, which deserves a lengthy exposition of its own. If one accepts Norman Davis's dating of the probable time of composition as c. 1450,[175] which seems not unreasonable in the light of Occupacion's opening stanza, then the so-called Dialogue is startlingly prophetic. It is no less than an 'adolescent' interlude that speaks out with the engaging brashness and vigour of the young, qualities that must have endeared it to the fledging scholastics it was intended to educate. Formally, it is the servant of dogma, but the writer is acutely socially attuned and fashions his work both to entertain and to advise as to secular harassments. His one shortcoming is a failure to tailor the play's length to the largely monothematic nature of its subject matter, but the flow of varied incident ameliorates the somewhat insistent piety. The interlude revolves around the efforts of Doctrine to reinstate Idelnes, "a sly clerke", to a state of Grace. He is abetted by Occupacion, a yeoman farmer of solid virtue but of comparative naivety, -

"with grete greualise y go my leuynge to gete,
ofte wery and wetshode y suffre mochel care
to sessioun or syses if that y fare,

be-cause y haue a litel gadered to-hepe.
In suche ple no skyle y kan, thus am y in care;
there y stonde and studye as mad as eny shepe for woo."[176]

- whose fruitless attempts at reformation are frustrated by Idelnes' wiles and way-of-the-worldliness. With dazzling precision, the writer uses the doughty Occupacion's opening monologue to create a universe wracked by civil strife:

"for al the welthe of the world is turned to wranglynge
and frendship is ful faynte now for to fynde,
aȝen equyté and riȝt the people be ianglynge
and ful fewe there be that here-of haue mynde.
The cause is this:
for now regneth tresoun
there that shold be resoun,"[177]

and by the inclemencies of the natural world. Circumstantially, all a good man can do is

"...sewe resoun and trewthe
lete ese and fauour fro the fle
and take counseyle and equyté;
ellis lese ȝe heuen so fre."[178]

Ydelnes enters to a snappier metre.

"Be God, þer ben many of ȝow
þat y knowe wel and fyne,"[179]

he notes, including his audience among his kind, just as later the unholy quartet of Mankynde involve the community in a scatological sing-along. He is a recognisable tavern type, a 'bar room' comic who lives up to his name -

Occupacion: Me semyth þou comyst late fro the nale,
Ydelnes: Be God, þat is a trewe tale."[180]

His pride is well suggested by the boastful assertions, like those of a 'galand', about his comeliness:

"Behold now this gracious face,
hou gallantly y take my trace,"[181]

and about his attire:

> "Y haue ten or twelf
> of good gownes in my presse,
> and furres of grete richesse."[182]

The Pryde of Youth can be spied taking an early turn. The interlude has a provincial setting, the economy is rural, the audience at which the author directs his moral comprises schoolboy clerics and yeoman farmers, as is sign-posted in one of Idelnes' conning speeches:

> Occupacion.: Than what labour kan ȝe best now?
> Ydelnes: Thresshe in ȝour berne or go to plow,
> ripe, mowe, and eke sowe,
> and oþer husbondrye;
> go to market, bey and selle,
> and kepe an household y kan welle;
> with shepe and swyne y kan melle.
> Whereto sholde y lye?[183]

Why otherwise chose a "slye clerke" and a yeoman as protagonists? And certain it is that whatever guidelines Doctrine lays down apply equally to the souls of both men. Indeed, the point is well made when Occupacion entreats the good Doctor:

> "Doctrine, syr, y pray ȝou
> tel vs some of Goddis werkis,
> þat the comoun peple may knowe
> as don þes worthi clerkis."[184]

When Doctrine enquires, with his first words,

> "What, siris, what pley is this
> that ȝe make in this place?"[185]

he alludes not to play in general but quite specifically to a dramatic entertainment before spectators. What is more, they are seated. Occupacion prays that:

> "The roy reuerent þat on the rode was rente
> he saue ȝou, my souereynes semly in se."[186]

A hall immediately recommends itself as an apt performance space, especially since Ydelnes' drunken return from "the nale" requires room for improvisatory play:

> "A ware, a litel stonde a rome,
> for I am verry kuppe-shote."[187]

The call to clear entrances and exits echoes down the interludes, as miscreants, ne'er-do-wells and vices swagger and riot across the stage. Ydelnes is of their number. At the start of the build-up to the comic fight between Doctrine and Ydelnes, there occurs the following exchange:

> Doctrine: A, lewde losell, what iapes ben thes?
> ƿou takest ƿe to fantasies.
> Fast sit doun, ƿou shalt nat chese.
> Ydelnes: A, sire, here be many botter flyes
> bothe white and brown.
> For cokkis blood
> take me ƿyn hode
> and y wyl smyte hem doun.[188]

whose almost arbitrary occurence suggests there may well have been a performer with exceptional mime skills. There are many occasions when the spectators are addressed directly. The piece has a rhythmical rise and fall enhanced by the effective juxtaposition of serious and comic episodes. The interlude even ends with a change of name, Ydelnes becoming Clennes and earning, presumably, a change of garments to match. Two last points. The three protagonists are subtly and truthfully characterised with an economy of means that is remarkable, even in the knowledge of the mendicants' skills at verbal portraiture. What is more, the author can write; the play is studded with verbal gems:

> "...y am very kuppe-shote.
> Old fole, thou begynnest to dote,
> thi berde begynnyth to hore."[189]

(Do I hear Hamlet on Polonius?).

"þou woldist make me weré
as is eny hounde." 190

" for þo þat shal be dampned in þat rowte
shul wepe more water with here ye
þan is in alle þe worlde rounde aboute."191

And at the heart of his play, the author places two precious nuggets of wisdom and advice which are his inspiration.

"Sette 3oure children vn-to scole,
3e þat ben good men of fame;
mayntene hem nat to pley þe fole,
but lete hem lerne some good, for shame.

* * * * *

Be ware, draw 3ou to good,
and laboure for 3oure lyfis food,
and pray to hym þat deyde on rood,
and beware of ydelness."192

That people took his advice is surely confirmed by the rise of such families as the Pastons and Plumptons, not to mention the thousands more whose letters have not survived the years.

Occupation and Idleness is a remarkable artefact. One keeps recognising so much that one takes for granted in later interludes that it comes as a shock to realise that it pre-dates both Mankynde and the works of Henry Medwall, ex-Etonian and playwright extraordinary. Its presence as part of MS 33 allows me to make certain reasonable conjectures about drama at Winchester College. So far, all evidence points to the non-participation of boys in dramatic activity. Players are either from the town or peripatetic. Performances, however, take place in the school hall. The material of Lucidus and Dubius is directed essentially towards budding churchmen, though there is an element of social comment which could well have been intended for adults attending a public presentation of the dialogue.

Occupation and Idleness, on the other hand, is conceived throughout as a vehicle of learning for both schoolboy clerics and local yeoman farmers. Not all Winchester scholars were bound for the church; some may well have been destined to become powerful and influential landowners and officials. The interlude is cleverly aimed at a specific audience. It may well be that a visiting troupe brought it with them and somehow mislaid it, so that it ended up at the college. It seems more likely, however, that one of the teaching monks made a play tailored to the talents of those players "civitatis Wintonie" who had already been regular contributors to festal occasions.

Occupation and Idleness forges links between town and gown, a shrewd move, since the monks might later need to solicit the patronage and protection of ex-pupils who were pursuing successful careers in the local secular arm. It is an elegantly calculated genuflection towards local interests. Its dramatic technique, however, has not been learnt in a vacuum which argues for regular visitations by travelling professionals or regular practice on behalf of town or guild amateurs. Plays of straightforward doctrinal import laced with social issues affecting provincial laity are likely models. The mayor's mace-bearers at Winchester were habitual guests of the college from its earliest days,[193] initially at Christmas. Subsequently, custom fixed Twelfth Night as their celebratory day at the school. An entry in the Bursarial Accounts for 1474/5 records local officials and interluders both within the college precincts for the Feast of the Epiphany:

"Et in Solutis Satpis Wyntō fō ephīe cū ij^{s}
datis iiij Int'ludentibus & J. Meke Citharista*
eodem festo /6 January/ iiij^{s}."[194]

*/recte Chithariste. The scribe should have used the dative case here./

Three years later, the satraps are back on Twelfth Night, but the players are performing on New Year's Day, the Feast of Christ's Circumcision:

"Et in datis Johnī pontisbery et soc' suis
ludentibus in Aula in die circusis'*
/1 January/ cū ij^{s} datis satrapis
Wintōn in festo Epiphie /6 January/ iij^{s}."[195]

*/recte circūcis/

By 1478, therefore, the period of the Feast of Fools is apparently being celebrated on at least three occasions; on the Feast of the Circumcision, the Feast of Epiphany and on Innocents' Day - there is no reason to suppose the festivities accompanying the Boy Bishop's rule lapsed simply because there is no record of them in the Accounts. I would like further to suggest that as early as 1409/10 plays of whatever kind were part of the seasonal rejoicing. The earlier phrase (1398/9), "cum suo tripideo", may not allude specifically to dancing but have the more general sense of jubilation.[196] Thus music, dancing and plays could all constitute jubilation, so that the "lusoribus de villa" may have provided the musical element while the "lusoribus ludentibus" added a spoken or dramatic dimension to events. Thirty years on such players are officially registered as "mimi". Ten years later, c. 1450, there exist two Dialogues (so-called) or moral interludes with an indigenous appeal. Forty years is time enough to perfect a skill, and Occupation and Idleness displays not so much skill as a genuine inspiration.

After 1477/8, there are only three allusions to dramatic activity

before the Reformation, all to visiting players, which may mean either that customary practice continued unabated or that the habit of performance died. I am inclined to settle for the former view, since isolated entries continue thereafter to record payments to professional troupes, and, as late as 1573/4, a scaffold is being erected for the staging of comedies and tragedies at Christmas time,[197] performed by the boys it would seem, which was definitely not the case in the fifteenth century. Their mentors then seem not to have objected to the boys being entertained by others, but they drew the line at scholars entertaining themselves. Perhaps Doctrine is spokesman for the monks when he warns:

> "But þe moste defaute now adayes
> on þe peple þat y fynde
> men techen hire children wanton playes,
> and nat as they sholde in kynde."[198]

Though I believe "playes" is there used in its primal sense. Still, there is a revealing little aphorism in English, for translation into Latin, included in a fifteenth century Vulgaria[199] intended almost certainly for use by Winchester scholars,[200] whose excoriating brevity may well reflect the official view:

> "Wyt is trechery luff ys lechery play* is vylony and holyday ys glotony."[201]

*/'play' is translated as 'ludus'/.

If there must be "play" on "holyday", let it be instructive. Occupation and Idleness cannot have been a bad way to celebrate a period of misrule. Incidentally, the contents of BL Additional MS 60577 which may arguably be linked to the college are often of an arresting literary quality, as, for example, the many proverbial and anecdotal saws (reminiscent of the mendicants!) included in the Vulgaria,[202] the fine poem beginning 'When

luff ys moost louyde & dethe ys moost hatyde'[203] and the delightful verse alphabet, "That we may lerne thys. A. B. C."[204] The literary and dramatic skills of the author of Occupation and Idleness are not a mere flash in the pan.

Careful scrutiny of available evidence shows that, throughout the fifteenth century, Winchester College played host to performers, both local and migratory; to townsfolk, both officials and, presumably, guild members. They did so at a high point in the church's calendar, during a period of celebratory release. Although the boys did not take active part in the dramatic presentations, they were attendant witnesses to a communal act of faith. Drama and education allied in public affirmation of the mystery of the Incarnation, of that universality of belief that informed the lives of all men in the Middle Ages. Such events brought community solidarity into the halls of "the great tradition", while the Cycle plays, which drew their inspiration from the exuberance of "the little tradition", reiterated faith in streets and market-place. Such was the nature of dramatic activity at England's first major public school.

Eton College

At Eton College, the country's second major school foundation, the course of dramatic evolution took a somewhat different course, as a study of the college archives makes plain.[205] The earliest payment to players is in 1447/8:

"...dat' lusoribus p̲ ostens' ludi ibm̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d}."[206]

These I take to be visiting professionals, since Eton boys would hardly

have been paid for putting on shows for their own pleasure within the school precincts. Later, when a tradition of performance had been firmly established, they would be rewarded for playing before Henry VIII (1510) in their college hall. After 1447/8, "ministralli domini regis" are the only recorded visitants[207] until 1480, when the professionals are once more in evidence, at Eastertide:

> "Et vj^{s} viij^{d} dat' mimis dn̄i regis visitantibus colle^{m} xiiij die aprilis ex man^{to} m. ppo^{ti}."[208]

However, there is no reason to exlude visits by travelling troupes during the interim period. An entry for 1483,

> "Et in regardis dat' quibusd^{a}m̄ mimis p m. pposit' c̄sti^{o} Circūcis' Dn̄i /1 January/ saltānt' corā m. pposit' et soc. xx^{d}."[209]

records specifically that players danced before the Provost and his associates, from which it is reasonable to infer that their habitual offerings were less specialised, though it confirms one of their undoubted skills and accounts for such fine dance sequences as, for example, that in John Rastells The Four Elements.

In 1485, William Pennyngton and Gilbert, the painter, are rewarded

> "...p laboribus suis et ornamentis ludenciū ī fō natalis /25 December/ xvj^{d}."[210]

There is no mention of players. It seems likely, therefore, that their labours were on behalf of the boys engaged in putting on a play at Christmas time. Later entries reinforce the surmise. In 1519/20, generous funds, "vj^{s} x^{d}", are disbursed to "Georg vestifici p ornamēto lusorio",[211] while equivalent sums go towards the costs "circa ornamenta ad duos lusus in aula tempe natalis do'" in 1525/6.[212] A payment the following year establishes the headmaster's involvement in the annual Christmas play,

apparently with regard to the furnishings and drapes employed:

> "Et m. informatori apparatu lusorum tempe natali c'sti xiij^{s},"[213]

which seems a curiously limited role, though he is paid in a similar capacity in 1532/3:

> "Et$\overline{\text{fo}}$ m^{o} infor^{ri} pro vestibus ad vsum lusorum in natalis v^{s}."[214]

No doubt the staging of plays was an integral part of his tutorial duties and hence already covered by his fee.

What is perhaps more striking about the latter year is the payment made:

> "...vni equitanti ad /$\overline{\text{manerium}}$/ Do' Derby p$\overline{\text{r}}$ apparat' lusorum x^{d}."

The nobleman referred to must be Edward, 3rd Earl of Derby, who is known to have had a company in Henry VIII's reign.[215] The entry may mean either that the Earl of Derby's troupe had borrowed theatrical gear from the college, which was once more required by the boys, or, which seems more likely, that the Earl had useful items, part of his players' stock, which the college wished to loan for their play. Since the Earl's company will have been interluders, - the interlude form was well-established by the 1530s - I can only infer that Eton scholars were also, by this stage, presenting interludes as part of their seasonal entertainment, indeed had probably been doing so from as early as the 1490s, which assertion will shortly, I hope, gain greater credence when I come to deal with Henry Medwall's output. External corroboration is provided by an entry in the King's Book of Payments for January, 1512, when 66s. 8d. was paid to the King's players.[216] Eighteen months earlier, in July 1510, the accounts

record the same exact sum given to the "Schoolmaster and children at Eton",[217] which looks suspiciously like remuneration for a similar kind of entertainment. Since the royal players were almost exclusively engaged in presenting interludes, which they then took on a provincial tour, it seems that Eton boys, too, were at home in the genre. The Eton Accounts meanwhile acknowledge that the college costumes have become sufficiently worn to warrant repairs, first in 1533[218] and again the following year.[219] Such continual usage argues not merely for a tradition of performance but also for an accustomed mode of entertainment. The pattern of evidence strongly suggests the staging of a play or interlude by boys at Christmas from the year 1485 at least. The hall was the playing area and funds were provided both for costuming and for some form of scenic effects. Moreover, the play seems to have been a feature of the traditional Christmas Revels for, in 1523/4, a member of the king's household, no less, was the Lord of Misrule at Eton:

"Et dn̄o misrule ex fālia dn̄i regis in regardo iij^{s} iiij^{d}."[220]

The allusion to "domino misrule" is, to my knowledge, the earliest mention of the role in that wording with regard to schools. Nor have I yet unearthed a later allusion.

Boys will also have had opportunities to consider the work of the professionals, since they were visited by those of the King (1479/80, 1488/9, 1505/6), the Queen (1492/3, 1493/4, 1498/9, 1499/1500), Prince Arthur, (1492/3) and of the Duke of York (1500/1).[221] Presumably, they also attended a play with special associations for Eton. In 1487, there is an unusual entry:

"Et lusoribus de Uxbrygge in /festo/ Assumpciois
/15 August/ ex madato m. ppo^ti viij^d."[222]

The Feast of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, probably the greatest feastin the church year associated with the Virgin, had this especial significance for Eton, that at the instigation of its royal founder, Henry VI, the Pope had given the college the right to grant indulgences to penitents on the feast day, which accounts for the players from Uxbridge who, I take it, could offer an Assumption play for performance on this important occasion. As at Winchester, ties between the school and the surrounding community are confirmed. The "great" and "little" traditions are once again seen in meaningful interaction.

If, as I have argued, the evidence of the Eton College MSS points to a robust tradition of drama at the college, it is no surprise to discover that Henry Medwall, England's first professional and secular playwright, was an Etonian. His three week illness in the year 1479/80 is recorded in the Custus Scolarii:

"Et in denarijs solutis vxori nup Wittmi bemond
p cois henrici medwall infirmi p iij septi^as /xxiv^d/."[223]

A later reference[224] to a John Mason "equitantis /lon^as/ ad m. Medwall" is too vague to relate to the playwright. In due course, Medwall proceeded to King's College, Cambridge, though he never completed his degree. Alan Nelson has dealt fully with the life and has uncovered new documents[225] to fill out the meagre portrait. The inexplicable lacuna in his Introduction is the absence of any extended discussion of drama at Eton and of its probable influence upon Medwall's art, especially since the MSS confirm the prevalence of drama at the school. Medwall's two extant plays, Nature (1495) and Fulgens and Lucres (1497), are very different;

they share, however, the same distinctive tone of voice.

Nature bears the hallmarks of an alumnus of Eton; there is nothing in it that the young Medwall could not have learnt or experienced from his schooldays. It is a traditional moral interlude, which teaches the folly of sin and extols the pursuit of virtue. It is not overtly political but Medwall does pursue the notion of 'policy' in some detail,[226] and thereby reveals his affiliation with the new regime, wherein his patron Cardinal Morton was a leading light. In the play's opening pages, having silenced Reason and Innocencye, The Worlde addresses Man thus:

> "And let us se now how prately ye can fynde
> By sage polycy and worldly prudence
> To mayntayne the state in honour and reverence
> That ye shall be in whyle ye in the world dwell.'[227]

To this end, he advises that:

> "In myne opynyon yt ys expedyent
> To take some other counsell than your awne
> Of well enured men suche as have growne
> In worldly experyence and have therof the dryft
> And can best for you in tyme of nede skyft."[228]

To employ, that is, men of policy. When Pryde appears on the scene, he boasts to the audience of his fine lineage, his wealthy apparel and of his henchman, before enquiring of them:

> "I here say there ys a great state
> Come into thys contray late
> And ys dysposed algate
> An householder to be."[229]

Inevitably, Pryde becomes the second of Man's political advisers, bringing, in his uneasy train, the remaining Deadly Sins. Faith is linked to politics; true policy is seen to be the fruit of virtue and, indirectly, of knowledge. Nature is about the ruler and those who rule, and the need for faith. It is

both contemporary and traditional. The Deadly Sins who come to constitute the government are characterised with a colourful economy reminiscent of the superb verbal portraits of the mendicants. In performance, they require playing and direction such as are lavished on their later incarnations in Shakespeare's plays - Falstaff, Parolles, Pistol, Osric, Lucio and Oswald, to name a handful. Another striking instance of sermon lore is found in the opening of Part II. Reason speaks:

> "I assemble the lyfe of mortall creature
> To assyege agayn a strong town or castell
> In whyche there ys myche besy endevure,
> Myche warly polycy wyth dylygent travayll
> On every syde whyche parte shall prevayl
> By sleyght of ingyns or by strong power
> That other to subdue and bryng into daunger."[230]

Thereafter, the main action centres around the uneasy preparations among the Deadly Sins for the coming battle with Reason for the repossession of Man's estate. Medwall announces the theme and proceeds to expound it dramatically, as did the preachers. The castle imagery is self-evident. The triumph of Reason is acknowledged by Man:

> "As long as myne appetyte dyd endure
> I followed my lustys in every thyng,
> Whyche now by the course and law of Nature
> And not of my polycy or good endevoure
> Is taken fro me for evermore."[231]

"Polycy" is here redefined in its true meaning of prudence, a virtue born of Godliness and reason. Man's depiction as a ruler may have created added excitement among the play's early audiences, since the year of its probable first appearance coincided with Perkin Warbeck's signing a document, in January, making the Emperor Maximilian his heir, thus easing the path to making the Low Countries the centre of his conspiracy. One repercussion was that the dubious Sir Robert Clifford 'fingered' the

Lord Chamberlain of the Household, Sir William Stanley, as implicated in the plotting. He was subsequently executed along with a number of minor figures. Henry VII's throne was not, as yet, fully secure; nor, therefore, were the estates of his advisers.

Nature was a dramatic precursor of the English humanist concern for knowledge and virtue to be the twin attributes of a ruling class - Elyot's "governours" and More's "philarchs". The ground plan is that of a moral interlude - the play is paradigmatic - but Medwall's intentions range beyond the doctrinal imperatives of purely religious drama. While it is not the first in this field, - Occupation and Idleness carries off that honour - it is more deliberately and surely crafted. It successfully deploys a far wider range of effects and, what is more, entrusts boy actors to sustain them. As theatre, the narrative skill is impressive, the control of events sure, the characterisation vital and spare. Medwall has studied his models thoroughly, not surprisingly in view of the regular flow of external professionals through Eton. Moreover, he must have gained valuable experience from his own participation in the various dramatic activities of the college. It is not too fanciful to imagine him as having written one of the Christmas entertainments. In practical terms, Nature provides worthwhile parts for twenty-two boys. On the other hand, it can be performed by a cast of seven, though I can adduce no pressing reasons why the possibility need have been exploited. The work was probably conceived as an occasional piece and, as such, intended for a readily available group of seasoned boy actors. A H Nelson believes that:

"Similarities between surviving morality plays and Nature make it almost

certain that Medwall had witnessed native English moralities, perhaps in King's College common hall, or in the surrounding region of East Anglia".[232] But Eton is the obvious primary stimulus to his genius. Medwall's education at the college is the more likely explanation of his theatrical flair, as also of his fine ear for language:

> "Who taught the cok hys watche howres to observe
> And syng of corage wyth shryll throte on hye?
> Who taught the pellycan her tender hart to carve
> For she nolde suffer her byrdys to dye?
> Who taught the nyghtyngall to recorde besyly
> Her strange entunnys in sylence of the nyght?
> Certes I, Nature, and none other wyght."[233]

His years at Cambridge will have burnished to brightness an art already acquired.

Two later interludes bear striking resemblances to Nature. Skelton's Magnyfycence is a literary variant which, despite wonderful passages and the inspired handling of Fansy and Foly, lacks Medwall's sheer theatrical panache. This is no surprise given Skelton's lack of first hand dramatic experience. The author of Mundus et Infans, however, has fashioned a synoptic version which is ideally cast for three touring professionals. I do not claim that Skelton and the anonymous author of Mundus et Infans were influenced by Medwall - though they may well have been. I point, merely, to the affinity between the three to demonstrate Medwall's position in the vanguard of dramatic evolution and to emphasize the continuing currency of the ideas contained in Nature.

Fulgens and Lucres is an apter choice for demonstrating the influence of King's, Cambridge. It is a wholly secular play, the first in the English language, which debates what kind of man deserves to become one of the ruling

oligarchy. Two representative suitors bid for the hand of Lucres (the State), daughter of Fulgens (The Almighty). They engage in dispute, each pressing his claims upon the lady. The exchanges are characteristic and revealing, for Medwall uses his protagonists not merely to argue the cases, that of the noble claiming to govern by right, that of the new man based upon virtue and proven worth, but to have each argue in a manner representative of the scholastic and of the humanist method respectively. Gayus Flaminius' arguments prefigure Dean Colet's sermon before Convocation in 1511[234] in its exegetical method, which argues for Medwall's familiarity with the new attitudes to life and learning to which the creative reacted in their individual ways. The future playwright had also clearly absorbed the manner of university <u>disputationes</u>. Publius Cornelius, like Pryde, rests his suit in his inherited wealth and nobility which, he believes, constitute his fitness to rule, despite his obvious pursuit of the <u>louche</u> life, for which he is chastised by his rival in love. Gayus Flaminius comes of humbler stock and claims Lucres' hand by dint of proven virtue:

> "...both he /Publius Cornelius/ and I cam of Adam and Eve.
> There is no difference that I can tell
> Whiche makith oon man an other to excell
> So moche as doth vertue and godely maner,
> And therin I may well with hym compare.
> * * * *
> And ever I have withstonde my lustis sensuall.
> One tyme with study my tyme I spende
> To eschew idelnes, the causer of syn.
> * * * *
> By these wayes /he has also defended his "contrey"/, lo, I do aryse
> Unto grete honoure fro low degre,
> And yf myn heires will do likewyse
> They shal be brought to nobles by me."[235]

Played before Cardinal Morton as part of an entertainment provided for foreign visitors, the message both flatters the patron and publicly

justifies the new men, a lesson well learnt, no doubt, by the menials watching the performance crowded round the screen exits. A man need not espouse the excesses of a Simmel or a Warbeck to rise in the world when there were more legitimate routes open to aspirants. The renewed interest in education and the growing literacy were symptomatic of humble men's ambitions and aided their first steps along "the yellow brick road". The writer, too, is well aware of the mutually beneficent effects of the coalition between drama and education.

Medwall cleverly objectifies the argument, which tackles a delicate issue, by placing it in a classical past, but he zooms in on it via A and B and Lucres' maid, Jone. A and B are comedians, who engage in banter among the audience at the start of the evening's entertainment and who alert their auditors to the essence of the impending dispute. For, although Lucres is to choose her future husband, the spectators are invited to arbitrate with her, albeit at a formal remove. The antics of the comedians forge the link with the present: in their parodistic pursuit of chivalric skills, as they compete for the wares of Jone, the author is silently endorsing the sobriety of the new men, like his patron, the Cardinal. The subtext of Nature is here fully discussed, formally in the narrative, informally through the comedians, whose ancestors are to be traced to the comedia erudita of Plautus and Terence, who themselves derive from Menander. A and B are nascent Dromios; on the other hand, they might easily swop rôles with their classical counterparts and feel quite at home. Medwall's familiarity with classical literature, as evidenced in Fulgens and Lucres, is further valuable proof of the pervasion of humanist studies in the University of

Cambridge.

Medwall also conjures a witty trick to do with illusion and reality when he first presents A and B as members of the audience, there to watch the <u>débat</u>:

> A: For why in this matter we have nought to do.
>
> B: We? No, God wott, no thing at all,
> Save that we come to see this play
> As farre as we may by the leve of the marshall.
> I love to beholde suche myrthes alway,
> For y have sene byfore this day
> Of suche maner thingis in many a gode place
> Both gode examples and right honest solace. [236]

After Fulgens' monologue and his exchange with Publius Cornelius, he shows them to be actors playing at being audience, when A explodes:

> A: Pece, let be!
> Be God, thou wyll distroy all the play!

and B retorts:

> B: Distroy the play, qoud a? Nay, nay,
> The play began never till now! [237]

by which he signals his entry into the main action as Cornelius' servant.

> A: And what shall I do in the meane while?
>
> B: Mary, thou shalt com in anone
> With a nother pageant. [238]

Which, in due course, he does; as Gayus' servant. The whole episode is a witty visual conceit, the inspiration of a university man, whose prior familiarity with the comedic skills of the professional troupes ensured that the illusion could be created. Moreover, B's first speech in this episode is telling evidence of the ubiquity of interludes - "in many a gode place" - as of the wide spectrum of classes who "beholde such myrthes".

Educationally, they were "gode examples" - a phrase lifted straight from the preachers; as regards faith, they provided "right honest solace". Here, in a mere seven lines, Medwall offers a concise sketch of the place, manner, audience and aims of interludes. One final point, the disputatio of Fulgens and Lucres derives more probably from the form of Lenten disputes leading to batchelorhood, with which the playwright would have been familar - he failed to complete his degree. A and B represent the master who poses the subject for dispute; they are also surrogates for the audience. Lucres reiterates and reinforces the central issue, while Cornelius and Gayus are respondentes justifying their positions vis-à-vis the question posed. The process is analogous to Heywood's Witty and Witless, which is a less complex working out of disputation procedures. Medwall keeps the argument simple but never under-estimates its importance, even though he places it in a more sophisticated dramatic context.

Henry Medwall is a supremely important figure in the evolution of both drama and education. Although only two of his plays are extant, he may well have written others. Nature is the perfection of a known and popular form; it is both retrospective and a summation. Fulgens and Lucres is progressive, being entirely secular and humanist. It demonstrates the possibility of a drama that is ruled neither by dogma nor wholly by politics. Medwall is the unsung prophet of the advances to be made by Elizabethan dramatists. Thomas More, as henchman to Morton and on the evidence of William Roper,[239] was an acolyte of drama, may even have seen plays by Medwall, so that it comes as no surprise to find members of the More circle charged with a similar interest. John Rastell, who published Fulgens and Lucres, wrote and

published The Four Elements, and printed Calisto and Melibea and Gentleness and Nobility, three plays whose debt to humanism is considerable. His son, William, printed Nature, as well as Good Order and the comedies of John Heywood. Calisto and Melibea is, in embryo, a wholly new type of play, a forerunner, for example, to Romeo and Juliet and Troilus and Cressida. Its moral ending is not so much a failure of nerve as a statement of belief. Today's commentators are too ready to condemn it because they will not (or are unable to) undertake that act of historical imagination which will explain the play in context. Neither a contemporary audience acquainted with Piers Plowman or the incidence of dreams in Chaucer's works nor the peasant or labouring classes saturated with sermon lore would have been surprised by the oneirological resolution. A more reasonable explanation for the failure of Medwall's successors to capitalise upon his advances is simply that they lacked his education, namely, his years at Eton. While this is not true of Skelton, Magnyfycence is clearly the work of a writer whose interests are primarily literary. Medwall's education is what distinguishes him as the first English playwright; the rest are playmakers, though very fine ones. Walter K Smart claims that the author of Mankynde "was the first writer of extant moralities to make a very definite step toward the secularisation of the morality type of play. He was one of the earliest of English 'dramatists' who wrote primarily for the sake of the play, and only incidentally for the sake of the moral or religious lesson".[240] While there are grounds for disagreement here, there can be no doubt that Medwall wrote as much for the joy of writing as from the imperatives of doctrine or social commitment. The three-dimensional vigour of the vices

as courtiers in Nature, and the conception of A and B in Fulgens and Lucres bear the hallmarks of a playwright and a man of the theatre. Which is why the Eton MSS are so important as records of the potential of both drama and education at that time. Henry Medwall realises those potentialities. His genius testifies to the value and the importance of drama in education, while his extant works, like Brecht's Lehrstücke, are dazzling instances of the pleasure and profit to be derived from education in drama. It is unfortunate that his contemporaries failed to take up the challenge he threw down and thus to foster the role of education at an earlier stage in the evolution of English drama. It was the schools which eventually hastened and made possible the far-reaching changes that revolutionised drama in the late sixteenth century. John Colet's foundation is one of these. However, its initial association with the St Paul's choir school leads me to deal, albeit briefly, with William Cornish and the song school attached to Westminster Abbey, before I turn to Colet's St Paul's.

William Cornish and the Children of the Chapel

In 1509, three years before Colet established his school, William Cornish had become Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal, a post he held until his death late in 1523. His was a distinguished career, as composer, musician, singer, actor, playmaker, poet and maker of pageants.[241] On 6 January, 1516, he presented his boys in one of his plays, "y^{e} storry of troylus and pandor", before Henry VIII "at hys maner Elltham".[242] Cornish himself played the part of "Kallkas". Other characters included Ulysses, Troilus, Pandor, Cressida and Diomedes, though "For y^{e} play xv personages" were needed, a largish cast. Since the Chapel children numbered ten in all

(1518, May: "Mr. Cornish, for board wages of 10 children of the chapel..."),[243] there must have been at least four supernumeraries "to swell a crowd". Nor was there any stinting on costumes, which are described as "rychely inparelled". The undoubted success of the play led to two subsequent performances of new material the following year, in January ("Mr. Cornisshe and the children of the chapel, playing before the king, 61. 13s. 4d.") and March ("Cornisshe for 'a play which was played' on Shrove Tuesday, 61. 13s. 4d."). In 1519, the Chapel children played twice before the King, on the Feast of the Circumcision /January 1st/ and on Shrove Monday, in May, on which occasion they played "an interlude". The pattern repeats itself the following year, 1520, though "Mr. Cornisshe" is rewarded, in April, "for playing two interludes with his children before the King". The Master of the Chapel has apparently established a tradition that the choristers shall perform biannually, on New Year's day and at Shrovetide, both important occasions in the Christian Calendar.[244]

The staging of troylus and pandor is prophetic on several counts. First, it marks the entry of choristers upon the theatrical scene, more specifically at court. Second, their musical expertise was bound to affect the nature of plays or interludes, crucially so, for example, in Wit and Science. It meant, too, that playmakers could be more ambitious and write for larger casts, while the possibility of court patronage opened the way to more spectacular staging such as might place the interlude on an equal footing with the disguising, which had hitherto dominated court revelry. Finally, Cornish' choice of subject confirms the twin forces transforming artistic endeavour in the early Tudor period.

The theme may be classical, but in Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde there existed an indigenous masterpiece, whose influence, one may be sure, will have coloured the playmaker's inspiration, just as, nearly a century later, it would still do Shakespeare's version.

Westminster Abbey Choir School

Cornish died late in 1523, when exactly is still a matter of conjecture. However, his name - I take it to be his - turns up in a fascinating document which to date has not, I believe, been fully explored. Westminster Abbey Muniments possess the Account Book of the Subalmoner of the Abbey, covering the years 1512/13 to 1524/5.[245] In the year 1522 he notes:

> "ffyrst in reward to master Cornysh on Seynt Edwardis /13 October/ day in october a^{o} xiiij^{to} x^{s}."[246]

St Edward, the Confessor, is, of course, buried in the Abbey and his feast day falls on 13 October. His importance as a national saint would undoubtedly justify celebratory entertainments on his feast day, including, perhaps, the staging of a saint play. What is intriguing is Cornish' connection with the Abbey. He is presumably being paid for musical services rendered but, given the range of his interests and activities, other explanations float willy-nilly to the mind's surface, especially since the Subalmoner's Accounts contain certain interesting details about the choristers' celebration of the Boy Bishop's incumbency. Besides, "x^{s}" is a sizeable reward. In 1521/2, the list of payments begins:

> "ffyrst payd to v syngyngmen goyng $^{t}_{w}$ the bysshoppe at xx^{d} the per^{son} viij^{s} iiij^{d}."[247]

continues with moneys expended upon "gloffis", "shoys", "hosyn", "gyrdyllis"

and "cappis" for the children on a fairly generous scale, and concludes:

> "It^{m} payd to the schole master of the song scolle iij^{s} iiij^{d} to the scollem. of the gramer scolle this q^{ua}rter iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> It^{m} payd for wrytyng of plays v^{s}."[248]

and on the reverse of the same page:

> "ffyrst to the scolle m. of the gramer scolle for cristemas a^{o} xiij^{o} iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> to the scolle m. of the song scolle iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> It^{m} payd to the scolle master of the gramer scolle for Ester iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> It^{m} to Sylvester /S̄ong-school master/ iij^{s} iiij^{d}."[249]

The cumulative impression given is that all is being done to render the Boy Bishop's reign a success, which possibly includes the presentation of plays, newly written. Fol. 15^{r}, which includes the payment to Cornish, is for "payments...ffrom the vth day of october a^{o} xiiij^{to} regis h. viij vnto the fest of Cristemas next folowyng". Fols. 16^{r}-18^{v} cover the year 1523-4 and record standard quarterly payments of "iij^{s} iiij^{d}" to the grammar and song school masters. Fol. 19^{r-v} is damaged at the top, though the rubrics appear to be the same as for the previous year and, seemingly, introduce the accounts for the new year, 1524-5. The following items are highly suggestive:

> "It^{m} to the scolle m of the r̄a̲gmer scolle iij^{s} /i̲iij^{d}7*
> It^{m} to the scolle m of the songe scolle vj^{s} /v̄iij^{d}7*
> /Easter to 24 June, 1525/
> It^{m} p^{d} to the scolle m of the gramer scolle iij^{s} iiij^{d}
> It^{m} p^{d} to the scolle m of the songe scolle vj^{s} viiij^{d}
> It^{m} payd for wryttyng of a play for the chyldern xvj^{d}.
> /4th Quarter, 24 June - ?7"[250]
> */Bits of manuscript are missing here. I have deduced the amounts from the payments below./

The amounts paid to the two masters here differ, the song school master receiving double that of his colleague, which may indicate his now greater

involvement in the seasonal festivities. Christmas is not mentioned, but the pattern of remuneration remains the same and, once more, a play has been commissioned for the children.

It would seem that the Boy Bishop celebrations were a traditional event at the Abbey, and that the staging of plays was a notable feature of the occasion. The plays were apparently freshly commissioned. Who wrote them it is impossible to say, but the grammar school master is a likely choice. The grammar school boys presumably attended, even if they did not take part in, the revelry. The choirmaster's increased reward may well represent his primary responsibility for masterminding events. Does this mean he staged the plays? Cornish, after all, had worked successfully with children, and John Redford was shortly to do so. Was Cornish, in the last year of his life, overseeing dramatic activity at the Abbey? Have we evidence here denoting the rapid spread of drama among the song schools? On the present evidence, any answers must be very tentative. However, I believe it is important to ask such questions, in the hope that others may take up the challenge.

John Colet's foundation of St Paul's

The St Paul's choristers were shortly to be instrumental in bringing about radical changes in the practice of drama. However, the way was opened to them by the adjacent Coletine foundation created in the wake of the New Learning with a clear eye on the new social imperatives. The fundamental aim was to wed knowledge to moral virtue in the interests of the public sector - New Learning for new men. The 'new' drama was to

project this view. Although presented as entertainment, its content and ethical stance were directed towards the new men, who saw reflected within it a more clearly defined image of their newly-acquired status. John Redford's Wit and Science was to set the pattern. It was the boys of Colet's school who were to make that possible. They were themselves a new breed of pupil in a new kind of school which exemplified "the great tradition" at work, but:

> "Over the revenues of the entire management of the school he /Colet/ placed neither priests nor the Chapter (as they call it), nor noblemen, but some married citizens of established reputation. And when asked the reason, he said that, while there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in these."[251]

These mercers, self-made men, carried within them "the little tradition" and, since entry to the school was open to "children of all nacions and countres indifferently" so long as "they canne the cathechyzon and also that he can rede and wryte competently",[252] the boys must have come from varied backgrounds, so that a fair number of them will have been raised within the same tradition.

The school played a leading role in the furtherance of humanist drama. While it may be true that the boys, who performed plays, disguisings and interludes during the reign of Henry VIII, were "sometimes taken from Dean Colet's school, and sometimes from the other St Paul's",[253] it is possible to attribute at least two important performances to the boys of the Dean's foundation. On Sunday, 27 November, 1527, in the great Hall at Greenwich, "there was the most goodlyest disguysyng or enterlude made in laten & frenche / whose apparel was of suche excedyng riches that it passithe my capacitie to expound", writes Cavendish.[254] Hall reports that "when the kyng and quene were set, there was played before them by children

in the Latin tongue in maner of Tragedy",[255] a play actuated by the sacking of Rome by Imperialist troops and couched in flagrantly anti-Imperialist terms. The "excedyng riches" of the "apparel" are confirmed by the elaborate description of them given in the Revels Accounts, which also record:

> "For making the apparel, 54s. 8d.; 3 q. coals, at 6d.; 'beer, ale, and bread for 38 children, the master, the usher, and the masters that ate and drank,' 3s. 2d. Mr. Ryghtwos, master of St. Paul's School, asks to be allowed for doublets, hose, and shoes for the children who were poor mens' sons, and for fire in times of learning the play, 45s. 6d. For 6 boats for the master of Paul's and the children, 6s."[256]

The large cast (38 boys) accords with the lavish requirements of, for example, Godly Queene Hester (see Chapter IV) and more than doubles the cast requirements of Cornish's troylus and pandor (1516). St Paul's boys are seemingly at home in the spectacular court entertainments of the day, and that in less than twenty years of the school's foundation. Given John Heywood's probable links with the school, the nature of his outpút becomes all the more intriguing (see Chapter IV). The other identifiable occasion upon which St Paul's boys performed was as part of the entertainment provided for ambassadors at a sumptuous feast given by Cardinal Wolsey on January 7, 1528. Gasparo Spinelli, Secretary to the Venetian Ambassador in London, is the amazed spectator:

> "Yesterday the Cardinal invited all the ambassadors to dine with him and included him (Spinelli). The dinner was most sumptuous, and afterwards the Scholars of St Paul's, all children, recited the Phormio of Terence, with so much spirit ('galantaria') and good acting ('bona attione') that he (Spinelli) was astounded."[257]

To have 'delivered the goods' with such panache argues for actors whose command of Latin enabled them to extract the fullest meaning from the text,

which would have been well beyond the capacities of the choirboys. Chambers attributes a third performance to Ritwise' charges, of his own play, Dido, before the Cardinal.[258] The High Master certainly wrote plays, a fact corroborated by a fragmentary petition from him to Henry VIII soliciting money on the grounds that he, the

> "/oratour did receve inbassyters in thys your noble / of your noble counsayle and also caused commedies and / ...uche like pleasurs to be plaide as well be fore your / ...bassiters and other straungers fur ther intertaynment."[259]

The scholars of St Paul's School carried further forward the evolution of drama in England. Whereas Eton and Winchester, also bastions of "the great tradition", still restricted performance to within their walls, by 1527, Ritwise's boys were appearing in public places before a cosmopolitan audience. Nor were the young performers bound for the church and subsequent service in the cause of the state. Such days were gone. The outlook of St Paul's boys was more likely to be worldly except in the matter of their faith. The content of both plays performed was humanist and wholly secular. Doctrinal imperatives were mostly absent. The political "enterlude" is described as "in maner of Tragedy", which, given the content, probably means it was modelled upon the precepts embodied in Lydgate's The Fall of Princes.[260] Moreover, the use of an interlude for propaganda purposes antedates the activities of John Bale in the service of Thomas Cromwell and Cranmer. As yet the salvo is delivered in Latin, the universal 'lingua franca', because the piece's import is aimed at European diplomats; after 1534, when Bale writes his plays in the vernacular, interludes tend to become didactic agents of political reform in the interests of the nascent Protestant faith.

4. Johan the Euangelyst: Augury of the Future

Johan the Euangelyst, the one interlude of the sixteen which stands slightly apart from its fellows, is an augury of events to come. It offers a hint as to why current humanist trends failed initially to take hold of the interlude form and steer it in the obvious direction. This strangely compelling work adopts a sterner tone of voice, more reminiscent of the Baptist than the Evangelist. Nor has it to do with the play's probable origins as a school play. To compare it with Occupation and Idleness is to discover a greater spirit of fun in the Winchester piece, whose opening bears a striking resemblance to the Second Shepherd's Play from the Wakefield Cycle, and whose continuance is marked by a blend of gravity and humour fully worthy of the Wakefield master. Johan the Euangelyst opens with a speech that echoes the aims of Dean Colet with regard to the boys of his foundation:

> "The swetest lyfe soverayn in this world w^{t} som
> Is to haue meditacyon of our lorde Jesus
> Very contemplatyue god / worshypped thus
> Bethynkyng in the soule / without any speche."[261]

The monologue is given to the Evangelist, though it seems more appropriate coming from Irisdision, especially since, at what probably constitutes his first appearance, Johan declares:

> "I am Johan / that presently doth apere
> Called the grace of god by interpretacyon
> And of my doctryne yf ye lyste to here
> Moche can I shewe you of Christes incarnacyon
> And of his passyon for verely I was there."[262]

Irisdision's curious name is surely a misprint for Erudition, despite some learned delving to the contrary.[263] And, since the benefits of learning provide the central theme of the play, it is fitting that their advocate

should launch the action. It makes, too, for fluidity of action, for Irisdision is already on stage when Eugenio enters and can move straightway into his attempts to steer the feckless youth towards the via recta, with its qualities of "mekenesse", "pacyence" and "measure", which is trodden by

> "They that be enspyred with the holy gooste
> As innocentes and virgins."[264]

The road to knowledge and virtue is being advocated, and due warning is given of the via obliqua. Irisdision is the Conscyence of Manhode in Mundus et Infans conceptually filled out and imbued with humanist objectives. It comes as no surprise to find Eugenio joined shortly by Actio. He and Irisdision stand for the via activa and via contemplativa of Renaissance belief, whose rival claims upon the individual fuelled dispute and controversy throughout the age. English humanists like More and Elyot understood well that, ideally, the two should be harnessed to work towards a common goal. They were servants of the state, guardians of the common weal, willing participants in a via activa enriched by the contemplative life. Elyot's The Book named The Governor[265] is a dazzling exposition of the process applied to education; his plea for dance,[266] wherein "concinnity of moving the foot and body" expresses "some pleasant or profitable affects or motions of the mind",[267] is extraordinarily original.

Eugenio and Actio team up. The latter is a child of the world (Mundus), the means by which Eugenio's will can be undermined. He is not in himself wicked -

> "But let vs go walke a space"

he persuades his companion,

> "For yuell counsayle hyther wyll spede
> That person I trowe he be voyde of all grace" [268]

- just more susceptible to those pleasures "the flesh is heir to", while Irisdision's caveats have not as yet sufficiently permeated the resolve of his ward to provide an adequate pale against the blandishments of Yuell Counsayle and Idelnesse - the dark sides of the active and contemplative principles. They duly appear. They do not, however, traduce the two youngsters; the latter falter through their own weakness. The 'Vice' figures embody the forces of the un-Godly, present the audience with dramatisations of evil so that, when Eugenio, on his return, tells how

> "There hath be a fayre araye
> Where we to haue be,"[269]

the spectators may have no illusions as to the company he has kept. For we are given only a glimpse of the young man's debaucheries.

> "Actio: Syr I saw the wenche that dyde youre necke clawe
> That bare in her hande a gay gewgawe."[270]

Where earlier playmakers delighted their listeners with graphically embroidered exempla of their profligates' doings, the compiler of Johan the Euangelyst glosses over the indecencies, except with regard to the allegorical villains, who emerge as symbolic spokesmen. It is the difference between Ascham's view, expressed later in the century, that the matter of certain texts "is base stuffe for that scholer, that should becum hereafter, either a good minister in Religion, or a Ciuill Ientleman in seruice of his Prince and countrie", as opposed to Elyot, whose reaction to the "base stuffe" was that it "be undoubtedly a picture or as it were a

mirror of man's life, wherein evil is not taught, but discovered", a view that subsequently gains sharper focus in Sir Philip Sidney's Defence of Poetry and Hamlet's advice to the First Player (Hamlet: III, ii, 11. 17-22). But I digress. Eugenio and Actio have returned from their pleasure to hear the Evangelist speak. Upon his re-entry, Johan delivers a parable about hypocrisy and pride, and harshly admonishes the two delinquents to repent.

There are many passing felicities in Johan the Euangelyst - the verbal description of the via recta and via obliqua being a personal favourite - but it cannot be said to cohere in the way its fellow interludes do. There is a definite air of haste in its construction, as if the author had been constrained to work under pressure. It is almost wholly devoid of humour, despite the comic episode when Yuell Counsayle and Idelnesse fall out. Nor does the Evangelist come across as either a comforting father figure or as an understanding and sympathetic friend; he resembles, rather, those severe, unsmiling Pantocrators that lour from the domes of Byzantine churches. He lacks the warmth and humanity of Mercy (Mankynde), Perseveraunce (Mundus et Infans) or Humilitye and Charite (Youth) - "O men unkynde / wretched and mortall", he addresses Eugenio and Actio as prelude to the parable; "you cursed men", he reviles them at its close. Earlier in the interlude, taking up Irisdision's allusion to the via recta, Eugenio enquires:

"Eugenio: Passeth all men by this iourneye.

Irisdision: Nay / and the more pyte verely I saye.

Eugenio: What be they that goo that waye moste.

Irisidision: They that be enspyred with the holy gooste
As innocentes and virgins.

Eugenio: Mary I knowe none suche in all this coste.

Irisdision: They that goo thyder muste be (Gratia electi)."[271]

It looks suspiciously as if knowledge and virtue have suddenly become the prerogative solely of an elect, though not a Calvinist elect - Calvin would only have been about twelve years old about the time the interlude was written. Still, the piece carries a Protestant mien, is instinct with the claims of a harsher ethic than Catholicism. The lighter episodes fail to dispel a certain earnestness. Johan's final diatribe against hypocrisy, which is an underlying theme throughout, might seem more apt if the play was performed in schools dedicated to the nuturing future clergy but, by 1520, this was no longer exclusively the case. On the other hand, Ydelnesse and Yuell Counsayle are presented as if they might be journeymen. Yuell Counsayle has been several times to Coventry, an important guild town, and remarks that:

"Sometyme in London dyd I dwell
I was prentyse with yuell counsell."[272]

In the tradition of Vices , both have travelled extensively, but only in England; they are localised villains in the way that Hyckescorner and Skelton's Foly are not. Johan's final warning is curious if the play was written primarily with schoolboys in mind.

"Thynke nowe that youre purpose was sette cursedlye
In synne thus to lede lyues vayne
Under colour of vertue / demyng your selfe good
You and all they that it dothe sustayne
Be worlde /recte: worse/ than the pharysey."[273]

If, on the other hand, provincial officials and guild members are also intended to receive the message, then the point is made. It is a sentiment all too true of recent times remembered, a muffled omen of what could

surface again.

I am not attempting to establish Protestant authorship: I am implying where much of the strength of the new regime lay and suggesting that a convert to the new creeds, like John Rastell for example, might wish to reach such an audience as early as possible. Other Protestant traces are to be found in the Evangelist's appeal to personal rectitude. The various protagonists are not integrated into a locale of especial significance - events appear to take place somewhere in the vicinity of St Paul's cathedral, a swift walk from the stews and, be it noted, not far from John Rastell's printing works. There is little feel of a specific society; there is a tenuous hint of a future social order. On his first appearance, Johan claims that "Moche can I shewe you of Christes incarnacyon / And of his passyon", but, at his second coming, he chooses to unfold a parable about pride and hypocrisy which, though it is taken from the New Testament, is put across in the manner of an Old Testament jeremiad. A more personal credo than Catholicism is being invoked, one that has not grasped, as yet, the potential impact of dramatic education. Hence, perhaps, the playmaker's reluctance in handling the Devil's tool, his uncertainty in the shaping of his material, his reliance upon the workings of formula. I do not wish to overstate the case. Response to a tone of voice can be very personal. Comparison with the other extant interludes does reveal, however, this salient difference. The break with Rome, in 1534, and the shattering upheavals associated with the event are here pre-echoed, however faintly - "ancestral voices prophesying war".

About the year 1526, for instance, the author of Godly Queene Hester

launched a vitriolic attack upon Wolsey, whose outspoken thrust far exceeds Skelton's literary barbs. There even appears to be veiled criticism of the king himself. This remarkable play (see Chapter IV) ushers in an entirely new era of dramatic activity, an era in which, for the first time, state censorship comes to exert daunting pressures upon all artistic endeavour. As early as 1529/30, the citizens of Chester were sufficiently alive to the hazards of official scrutiny as to be nervous of the consequences of staging a play, Kynge Robart of Cicyle, whose plot could be thought to contain unfavourable comment upon Henry VIII's current struggles with the Pope over his divorce from Catherine of Aragon.[274] So much so that one of their number wrote, on their behalf, to an unknown nobleman at court stating their unease. It is becoming quite clear that in future, where plays are concerned, a double vigilance is going to be exercised, the outcome of the English king's strife with the Papacy. The secular arm will increasingly concern itself both with any doctrinal deviance in the plays and with any tendency in them to incite anti-government action. Henceforth, state interference becomes a contributory factor in the evolution of drama.

5. Conclusion

"The times they are a'changin'", and the interlude changed with them. The advent of the new religious ethic created adherents who, in seeking to erect the new kingdom of God on earth, were bent upon destroying the edifice of the old faith by subverting its institutions and removing those who maintained them. Sir Thomas More and Bishop Fisher were among the first to fall victims, but many others were, in time, to follow. And, because "the

king's great matter" made the initial breach in the Catholic faith where England was concerned, so religion and politics were brought into a new relationship which sorely taxed mens' consciences and aspirations, and which would have surprised even such advanced political thinkers as St Thomas Aquinas and Marsilius of Padua.[275] It was merely a matter of time before the prime didactic medium was put to use by the upholders of the new dispensation, and the defenders of the old order, of whom the Jesuits were singularly successful. For the next twenty-four years, some makers of moral interludes were to deploy it as a weapon in their ideological armoury. Others would seek to extend and develop its potential in ways that would not stunt its growth or limit its role within the evolutionary continuum of drama in England in the sixteenth century. It is to these playmakers I now turn.

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Chapter II

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4 Bernard Spivack, Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1950), p. 100.

5 R P Merrix, 'The Function of the Comic Plot in Fulgens and Lucres ', Modern Language Studies, Vol. VII (1977), p. 17.

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8 John Leland, De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea, 6 Vols., edited by Thomas Hearne (London, 1774), VI, pp. 33-4.

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12 See H C Gardiner, Mysteries End (Yale, 1946), in which Fr. Gardiner

demonstrates the continuing popularity of mystery plays during a period when they were thought to be on the decline.

13 I have already excluded The Castle of Perseverance, Everyman and the Digby Mary Magdalen for the reasons given above (see p. 114).

14 Henry Medwall, Nature, (i) edited by A H Nelson (see Note 6, i); (ii) edited by J A Farmer (TFT, 1908). For Fulgens and Lucres see Note 6.

15 John Skelton, Magnyfycence, (i) edited by R L Ramsay (EETS, ES 98, 1906); (ii) edited by Paula Neuss (Manchester, 1980).

16 See the Introduction to the fragment by G L Frost and Ray Nash in SP, Vol. XLI, No. 4 (1944), which also includes the fragment, pp. 483-8.

17 John Rastell, The Four Elements, (i) in Three Rastell Plays, edited by Richard Axton (Cambridge, 1979); (ii) edited by J O Halliwell, Percy Society, Vol. XXII (1848).

18 Caliston and Melibea, (i) edited by F Sidgwick and W W Greg, MSR (1908); (ii) edited by Richard Axton (see Note 17, i).

19 Gentleness and Nobility, (i) edited by Richard Axton (see Note 17, i); (ii) edited by A C Partridge and F P Wilson, MSR (1950); (iii) eidted by K W Cameron (Raleigh/North Carolina, 1941).

20 Rastell's possible authorship is discussed in A W Reed, Early Tudor Drama (London, 1926), pp. 104-12; Richard Axton (see Note 17, i), op. cit., Introduction, pp. 20-6; K W Cameron (see Note 19, iii), op. cit., Chapter 2. K W Cameron's claims on behalf of John Heywood as author of Gentleness and Nobility (claims which also find favour with Richard Axton) are rather more cogently argued than are those by A W Reed on behalf of John Rastell. However, Cameron assumes a composition and performance date prior to 1523. Witty and Witless thus becomes the one Heywood play with which meaningful comparison can be made. In my opinion, the two plays are stylistically very dissimilar. Both Reed and Cameron concentrate upon the play's material and its correspondence to a range of early Tudor texts. Once one has envisaged staging the two plays, their disparity becomes the greater. While Witty and Witless demands formal staging, subtle characterisation and verbal panache, Gentleness and Nobility is better served by the more down-to-earth style of presentation achieved by professional troupes. When Heywood turns his hand to more popular fare, his comedy is farcical, French-influenced (see Chapter IV below), couched in a sharp, satirical style quite at odds with the more traditional effects of Gentleness and Nobility, which was surely always conceived of as a piece for touring. Heywood's first three plays are written with boy actors in mind, for performance within a court ambience.

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and Melibea, edited by G M Lacalle (Tamesis Books, 1972), which is a fine translation of the Spanish original dating from 1631. A straightforward, modern translation is J M Cohen's for Penguin (London, 1964 and Folio Society, 1973).

22 The Conversion of St Paul, (i) in The Digby Plays, edited by F J Furnival (EETS, ES 70, 1967 reprint); (ii) edited by Glynne Wickham (see Note 6, ii), op. cit., pp. 103-26.

23 See Glynne Wickham, 'The Staging of Saint Plays in England', in The Medieval Drama, edited by Sandro Sticco (New York, 1969), pp. 99-119, in which Professor Wickham's analysis reveals fully the play's originality, economy and narrative drive.

24 Lucidus and Dubius & Occupation and Idleness, in Non-Cycle Plays and the Winchester Dialogues, edited by Norman Davis, Leeds Studies in English (Leeds, 1979), pp. 133-208.

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26 Wisdom, in The Macro Plays, edited by Mark Eccles (see Note 25, i).

27 Mundus et Infans, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1909).

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29 Hyckescorner, (i) edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1907/8); (ii) in Two Tudor Interludes, edited by Ian Lancashire (Manchester, 1980).

30 Youth, (i) in Tudor Interludes, edited by Peter Happé (London, 1972); (ii) edited by Ian Lancashire (see Note 29, ii).

31 For a fuller discussion see E T Schell, 'Youth or Hyckescorner: Which came first', PQ, XLV, Vol. 2 (1966), and Ian Lancashire (see Note 29, ii), op. cit., Introduction.

32 E T Schell (see Note 31), op. cit., pp. 473 and 474.

33 R L Ramsay (see Note 15, i), op. cit., Introduction, p. cxxxiii. I also find myself in disagreement with Professor Ramsay's conclusion that four players only were used, and with Ian Lancashire's dating of the play in the Introduction to his edition (see Note 29, ii).

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35 William Langland, The Vision of Piers Plowman, B-Text, edited by A V C Schmidt (London, 1978), pp. 62 ff. 11. 561 ff.

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37 Glynne Wickham (see Note 11), op. cit., p. 173, quoting Coventry Leet Book, edited by M D Harris (EETS, OS 134, 1907), Vol. I, p. 300.

38 Ibid., Chapters 2 and 3 for a full exposition.

39 'Records of Plays and Players in Kent, 1450-1642', edited by Giles Dawson, in MSC VII (Oxford, 1965), Introduction, p. xiii.

40 Ibid., pp. 23-4, for Kent. E K Chambers (see Note 7), op. cit., p. 251, for Shrewsbury.

41 MSC VII (see Note 39), op. cit., p. 98.

42 Ibid., pp. 5 and 85.

43 Glynne Wickham (see Note 6, ii), op. cit., p. 1; Mark Eccles (see Note 25, i), op. cit., Introduction, p. xxxviii.

44 MSC VII (see Note 39), op. cit., p. 4.

45 Ibid., p. 121.

46 E K Chambers (see Note 7), op. cit., p. 251.

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71 Robert Redfield, Peasant Society and Culture (Chicago, 1965), pp. 41-2.

72 See Richard Axton, (i) 'Folk Play in Tudor Interludes', in English

Drama: Forms and Development, edited by M Axton and R Williams (Cambridge, 1977), and (ii) 'Popular Modes in the Earliest Plays', in Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, No. 16 (London, 1973); David Bevington, 'Popular and Courtly Traditions on the Early Tudor Stage', in Stratford-upon-Avon Studies, No. 16 (London, 1973); Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London, 1978); Peter Happé, 'The Vice and the Folk Drama', Folklore, LXXV (1964), pp. 161-93; F H Mares, 'The Origin of the Figure called "Vice" in Tudor Drama', HLQ, Vol. XXII (1958), pp. 11-29; W K Smart, 'Mankind and the Mumming Plays', MLN, No. 32 (1917), pp. 21-5.

73 Gentleness and Nobility (see Note 19, i), op. cit., p. 102, second sd.

74 Johan the Euangelyst (see Note 34), op. cit., p. 17, 11. 515-9. The pagination is my own, as also in any further references.

75 Hycksescorner (see Note 29, i), op. cit., p. 15, 11. 440-4. The pagination and line numeration are my own, as also in any further reference to the text, and start at the first page of the play text.

76 Peter Burke (see Note 72), op. cit., p. 115.

77 Ibid., p. 78.

78 Mankynde (see Note 25, i), op. cit., p. 166, 11. 396-7.

79 David Bevington (see Note 28), op. cit., pp. 118-9.

80 Mundus et Infans (see Note 27), op. cit., p. 6, 11. 168-71. The pagination and line numeration are my own, as also in any further references to the text. They begin at the first page of text.

81 Ibid., p. 7, 11. 200-3.

82 Ibid., p. 16, 11. 450-1.

83 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 471-2.

84 Ibid., p. 17, 11. 488-9.

85 Ibid., p. 18, 11. 512-17.

86 Ibid., pp. 17-18, 11. 498-504.

87 David Bevington (see Note 28), op. cit., p. 119.

88 Ibid., loc. cit.

89 John Stevens, Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court (London, 1961), p. 41.

90 John Rastell (see Note 17, i), op. cit., pp. 63-5. Fine renderings of the three-part song and a version for dancing are performed by The London Early Music Group, directed by James Tyler, on RCA RL 25159 (2). They are as plausible as any version is likely to be.

91 A Hyatt-King, 'The Significance of John Rastell in Early Music Printing', The Library, 5th Series, Vol. XXVI, No. 3 (1971), p. 208.

92 John Rastell (see Note 17, i), op. cit., p. 30, opening rubric.

93 A Hyatt-King (see Note 91), op. cit., for a full discussion.

94 BL MS. Add. 5465, The Fayrfax MS. The song is performed by Pro Cantione Antiqua, London, on Harmonia Mundi IC 065-99 683 Q.

95 Calisto and Melibea (see Note 18, ii), op. cit., p. 82, 11. 480-1 and 486-92.

96 John Skelton (see Note 15, i), op. cit., p. 39, 11. 1224-6.

97 Belinda Quirey, May I have the Pleasure (BBC/London, 1976), p. 13.

98 Sydney Anglo, 'The Court Festivals of Henry VII: A Study based upon the Account Books of John Heron, Treasurer of the Chamber', Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Vol. 43 (1960/1), p. 20.

99 Ibid., pp. 27-44. The Accounts are given in full at the conclusion of the study.

100 Ibid., p. 37.

101 Ibid., loc. cit.

102 Ibid., loc. cit.

103 Ibid., p. 38.

104 Ibid., loc. cit.

105 John Leland (see Note 8), op. cit., IV, p. 263; Sydney Anglo (see Note 98), op. cit., p. 24.

106 Ibid., p. 299.

107 Ibid., p. 300.

108 'Records of Plays and Players in Lincolnshire, 1300-1585', edited by Stanley J Kahrl, MSC VIII (Oxford, 1974 reprint), p. 4 - "John Englishe & sociis suis lusoribus domini regis".

109 John Leland (see Note 8), op. cit., V, p. 363.

110 Materials Illustrative of the Reign of Henry VIII, edited by W Campbell, 2 Vols., Rolls Series, No. 60 (1873), I, p. 181.

111 Ibid., p. 182.

112 MSC II, Part 2 (see Note 55), op. cit., p. 151.

113 Richard Beadle (see Note 54), op. cit., pp. 127-8.

114 Glynne Wickham (see Note 11), op. cit., Appendix C, pp. 332-9.

115 Ibid., p. 334.

116 Eton College Records (hereafter abbreviated to ECR) AR/F/2, 1486/7 - "Et lusoribus de Uxbrygge in /festo/ Assumptionis ex mandato magistri prepositi...viij^{d}".

117 Sydney Anglo (see Note 98), op. cit., pp. 27-44.

118 MSC V (see Note 55), op. cit., pp. 40-1.

119 Ibid., pp. 45-9; E K Chambers (see Note 7), op. cit., II, pp. 248-50.

120 MSC II, Part 2 (see Note 55), op. cit., p. 150.

121 Ibid., p. 151.

122 MSC V (see Note 55), op. cit., pp. 40-1.

123 Ibid., p. 49.

124 Ibid., pp. 45 & 47.

125 MSC II, Part 2 (see Note 55), op. cit., pp. 150-1.

126 Ibid., p. 151.

127 Ibid., pp. 214-5.

128 Ibid., p. 228.

129 Ibid., p. 183 & 229.

130 MSC V (see Note 55), op. cit., p. 46.

131 A Wigfall Green, The Inns of Court and Early English Drama (Yale 1931).

132 R J Schoeck,'Christmas Revels at the Inns of Court', NQ, CXCVII (1952), p. 226.

133 The Reports of Sir John Spelman , Vol. 1, edited by J H Baker, Selden Society, Vol. XCIII (1977), pp. 233-4.

134 Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Black Books, Vol. I, 1422-1586, edited by J Douglas Walker (London, 1897), p. 163.

135 D S Bland, 'Interludes in Fifteenth-Century Revels at Furnivall's Inn', RES, Vol. III, n.s. (1952).

136 Albert C Baugh, 'A Fifteenth-Century Dramatic Performance at the Inns of Court', Tennessee Studies in Literature, Vol. XI (Tennessee/Knoxville, 1966).

137 D S Bland (see Note 135), op. cit., p. 264.

138 Ibid., loc. cit.

139 Ibid., loc. cit.

140 Ibid., loc. cit.

141 Ibid., loc. cit.

142 Ibid., pp. 264-5.

143 Albert Baugh (see Note 136), op. cit., p. 72.

144 D S Bland (see Note 135), op. cit., p. 266.

145 Edward Hall, Chronicle (London, 1809), p. 719.

146 Albert Baugh (see Note 136), op. cit., p. 73.

147 Glynne Wickham (see Note 11), op. cit., Chap. VI.

148 Calendar of State Papers: Spanish, Vol. II, 1502-25, edited by G A Bergenroth (London, 1866 & Kraus reprint, 1976), No. 437, pp. 444-5.

149 Wisdom (see Note 26), op. cit., pp. 136, 138 & 139.

150 T H Vail Motter, The School Drama in England (London, 1929).

151 Ibid., Appendix V, pp. 261-2. There are only five entries for the period 1440-1534.

152 Mackenzie E C Walcott, William of Wykeham and His Colleges (Winchester, 1852), pp. 205-7.

153 E K Chambers (see Note 7), op. cit., II, 246-7.

154 T H Vail Motter (see Note 150), op. cit., Chap. 7, pp. 125-30.

155 ECR MS 300, Fol. 26^{v}, addendum below body of text, ll. 6-7: "...excepto in festo sancti Nicholai, in quo, et nullatinus* in festo sanctorum Innocentium, divina officia preter misse secreta exequi et dici permittimus per episcopum scolarium, ad hoc de eisdem annis singulis eligendum. In aliis festis duplicibus...".
* /recte nullatenus/

156 T F Kirby, Annals of Winchester College (London & Winchester, 1892), p. 503, ll. 12-15 for the relevant clause in the statute: "Permittimus tamen quod in festo Innocencium pueri vesperas matutinas et alia divina officia legenda et cantanda dicere et exsequi valeant secundum usum et consuetudinem ecclesie Sarum".

157 Winchester College Muniments (hereafter abbreviated to WCM). The relevant MSS consist of Audit Rolls, Account Sheets bound in volumes and Hall Books. Appendix A is a transcription of entries in the Bursarial Accounts and College Hall Books relating to drama. Unless otherwise indicated, all extracts before 1539/40 are taken from Foreign Expenses or Costs; thereafter, they are from Necessary Costs. On the Rolls, these entries are on verso, except for the years 1410/11 and 1411/12, which carry them on recto.

158 WCM 22142, 22143, 22151 & 22152. See also Herbert Chitty, 'De Leonibus et Satrapis', The Wykenhamist, No. 578, 3 December (1918), p. 281.

159 WCM 22084, ll. 99-100 and Ibid., p. 282.

160 WCM 22815; Herbert Chitty, 'A College Hall-Book of 1401-2', NQ, Series 11, No. 11 (1915), p. 415.

161 WCM 22091, ll. 40 & 41.

162 WCM 22090.

163 WCM 22092, recto, ll. 27-8, l. 179.

164 WCM 22093, recto, ll. 141-2.

165 WCM 22095, ll. 13-14, and 22116, ll. 2-3, 7, 59-60.

166 WCM 22132, ll. 3-4.

167 WCM 22135, ll. 13-14, 22138, ll. 12-13 and 22139, ll. 4-5.

168 See Norman Davis (see Note 24), op. cit., 'The Winchester Dialogues', pp. 135-9.

169 Lucidus and Dubius (see Note 24), op. cit., p. 189, ll. 537-41.

170 Ibid., p. 181, 11. 142-3.

171 Ibid., p. 185, 11. 332-4.

172 Ibid., p. 188, 11. 485-9.

173 Ibid., p. 191, 11. 607-10.

174 William Caxton, Dialogues in French and English, edited by Henry Bradley (EETS, ES 79, 1900), p. 15, Chap. v, 11. 5-13.

175 Occupation and Idleness (see Note 24), op. cit., p. 192, 11. 1-13.

176 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 34-40.

177 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 5-11.

178 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 22-5.

179 Ibid., p. 193, 11. 51-2.

180 Ibid., p. 196, 11. 262-3.

181 Ibid., p. 193, 11. 87-8.

182 Ibid., p. 194, 11. 127-9.

183 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 132-9.

184 Ibid., p. 201, 11. 548-51.

185 Ibid., p. 197, 11. 319-20. See Glynne Wickham (see Note 70), op. cit., pp. 166-7. 'Play' (Anglo-Saxon plég) "could mean 'activity' of any sort and activities of many particular sorts - games, sport, jokes, dramatic entertainment, athletics, military exercises - normally carrying with it the general sense of recreation". On this occasion, 'play' has the meaning of a dramatic entertainment, a 'game' (Anglo-Saxon gomen) which has been activated by 'players'. The words 'play' and 'game' were at this time virtually synonymous.

186 Ibid., p. 195, 11. 203-4.

187 Ibid., p. 196, 11. 235-6.

188 Ibid., p. 205, 11. 734-41.

189 Ibid., p. 201, 11. 513-4.

190 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 541-2.

191 Ibid., p. 205, 11. 703-5.

192 Ibid., p. 199, 11. 412-5 and 426-9.

193 Herbert Chitty (see Note 158), op. cit., p. 281; J S Furley, The Ancient Usages of the City of Winchester (Oxford, 1927), pp. 26-7. No. 6 of the 'Usages' read as follows:

"Derechef quatre serianz deiuent estre en la vile, iurez, verges portanz a fere les comandemenz le mere e les baillifs auantdiz."

("Furthermore there shall be four serjeants in the city, jurats, bearing staves, to execute the orders of the mayor and bailliffs aforesiad.")

194 WCM 22144, 11. 14-15.

195 WCM 22147, 11. 6-7.

196 R E Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List (Oxford, 1980), 'tripudi/um', p. 495.

197 WCM 22216[a], see Custus Aulae.

198 Occupation and Idleness (see Note 24), op. cit., p. 199, 11. 404-7.

199 BL Additional MS 60577, fols. 67-77.

200 Iain Fenlon, 'Instrumental Music, Songs and Verse from Sixteenth-Century Winchester: British Library Additional MS 60577', in Music in Medieval and Early Modern Europe, edited by Iain Fenlon (Cambridge, 1981), pp. 93-116.

201 BL. Additional MS 60577, fol. 75[v], 11. 11-12.

202 See Note 199.

203 Ibid., fols. 92[r-v].

204 Ibid., fol. 56[v].

205 ECR MSS. They consist of Audit Rolls, and Account Sheets bound in volumes with modern pagination. They will be referred to hereafter as ECR BD/C/4, where the combined letters and figures stand for the archive reference, in this example that of the Account Roll for the year 1469/70. Appendix B is a transcription of the entries in the college accounts relating to drama. All entries are under Foreign Expenses or Costs unless otherwise indicated.

206 ECR BD/A/1, m.20, penultimate line.

207 ECR AR/C/3, BD/C/3-4, BD/C/6, BD/C/8 and AR/C/5.

208 ECR AR/C/6, m. 8, 11. 30-1.

209 ECR AR/D/1, m. 7, 11. 27-8.

210 ECR AR/F/1, m. 4, 11. 6-7.

211 ECR AB/1, p. 251, 11. 4-5.

212 Ibid., p. 403, 11. 14-15.

213 Ibid., p. 422, 11. 20-1.

214 ECR AB/2, p. 83, 11. 29-30.

215 ECR AB/1, p. 362, 11. 8-9; E K Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 Vols. (Oxford, 1923), II, p. 118.

216 LP: Henry VIII, Vol. II, Part 2, edited by J S Brewer (London, 1864 & Kraus reprint, 1965), p. 1454.

217 Ibid., p. 1447.

218 ECR AB/2, p. 106, 11. 26-7.

219 Ibid., p. 125, 11. 11-12.

220 ECR AB/1, p. 362, 11. 8-9, The king celebrated Christmas at Windsor this year, as Hall confirms - Edward Hall (see Note 145), op. cit., p. 672. The ties between school and court were apparently close.

221 ECR. See relevant details in Appendix B.

222 ECR AR/F/2, m. 3, 11. 49-50.

223 ECR AR/C/6, m. 5, 11. 1-2.

224 ECR AR/F/10, m. 8, 1. 12.

225 A H Nelson (see Note 6, i), op. cit., Introduction, pp. 3-14 & Appendix, pp. 163-9; A H Nelson, 'Life Records of Henry Medwall, MA, Notary Public and Playwright, and John Medwall, Legal Administrator and Summoner', Leeds Studies in English, No. 11 (1979), pp. 111-55.

226 N W Bawcutt, 'Policy, Machiavellianism, and the Early Tudor Drama', English Literary Renaissance, Vol. I (1971), pp. 195-209, where it is argued that "evidence taken from earlier Tudor Interludes shows that the word 'policy' (in the sense of unscrupulous cunning) had a wide range of meanings, favourable and unfavourable, long before any traces of Machiavellian influence can be found in drama".

227 Henry Medwall, Nature, edited by A H Nelson (see Note 14, i), p. 104, I, 11. 521-4.

228 Ibid., p. 105, I, 11. 569-73.

229 Ibid., p. 111, I, 11. 799-802.

230 Ibid., p. 127, II, 11. 1-7.

231 Ibid., p. 152, II, 11. 1025-9.

232 A H Nelson (see Note 6, i), op. cit., Introduction, p. 14.

233 Henry Medwall (see Note 14, i), op. cit., p. 93, I, 11. 43-9.

234 J H Lupton, A Life of Dean Colet, D.D., (London, 1887), Appendix C, pp. 293-304; E W Hunt, Dean Colet and His Theology, (SPCK, 1956), pp. 82-3.

235 Henry Medwall, Fulgens and Lucres, edited by A H Nelson (see Note 6, i), op. cit., p. 83, II, 11. 665-9, 678-80 & 686-9.

236 Ibid., p. 35, I, 11. 146-53.

237 Ibid., p. 41, 11. 363-6.

238 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 369-71.

239 William Roper, The lyfe of Sir Thomas More, Knighte, edited by Elsie V Hitchcock (EETS, OS 197, 1978 reprint), p. 5.

240 Walter K Smart, 'Some Notes on Mankind ', MP, Vol. XIV (1916), p. 309.

241 Sydney Anglo (see Notes 11 & 98), and 'William Cornish in a Play, Pageants, Prison and Politics', RES, New Series, Vol. X (1959), pp. 347-60; H N Hillebrand, The Child Actors (New York, 1964), pp. 48-59.

242 H N Hillebrand (see Note 241), op. cit., Appendix III, No. 1, pp. 324-5; LP: Henry VIII (see Note 216), op. cit., pp. 1505-6.

243 Ibid., p. 1478.

244 Ibid., p. 1474; LP: Henry VIII, Vol. III, Part 2, edited by J S Brewer (Kraus reprint, 1965), pp. 1533, 1536 & 1539.

245 Westminster Abbey Muniments (hereafter abbreviated to WAM) 33301. Appendix D consists of transcriptions from the Abbey Muniments relating to drama at Westminster College.

246 Ibid., fol. 15^{r}.

247 Ibid., fol. 11^{r}.

248 Ibid., loc. cit.

249 Ibid., fol. 11^{v}.

250 Ibid., fol. 19^{r}.

251 Desiderius Erasmus, Lives of Jehan Vitrier and John Colet, edited by J H Lupton (London, 1883), p. 28.

252 J H Lupton (see Note 234), op. cit., Appendix A, p. 277.

253 Ibid., p. 175.

254 George Cavendish, The Life and Death of Cardinal Wolsey, edited by Richard S Sylvester (EETS, OS 243, 1961 reprint), p. 73.

255 Edward Hall (see Note 145), op. cit., p. 735.

256 LP: Henry VIII, Vol. IV, Part 2, edited by J S Brewer (London, 1872 & Kraus reprint, 1965), No. 3564, p. 1606.

257 Calender of State Papers and Manuscripts: Venetian, Vol. IV, 1527-33, edited by Rawdon Brown (London, 1871), No. 225, p. 115.

258 E K Chambers (see Note 7), op. cit., p. 215.

259 Sydney Anglo (see Note 11), op. cit., p. 237, n. 2, quoting P.R.O., S.P. I/236, Fol. 380 (L.P. Addenda, I, i, 717).

260 Edward Hall (see Note 145), op. cit., p. 735 - "...the effect whereof was that y^{e} pope was in captiuitie & the church brought vnder the foote, wherfore S. Peter appeared and put the Cardinal in authoritie to bryng the Pope to his libertie and to set vp the church againe, and so the Cardinall made intercession to the kinges of England and of Fraunce, that they tooke part together, and by their meanes the pope was deliuered. Then in came the Frenche kynges children and complayned to the Cardinal how the Emperor kept them as hostages and would not come to no reasonable point with their father, wherfore thei desired y^{e} Cardinal to helpe for their deliueraūce, which wrought so with the kyng his master and the French kyng that he brought the Emperor to a peace, and caused the two yong princes to be deliuered." See also John Lydgate, The Fall of Princes, 4 Vols., edited by Henry Bergen (EETS, ES 121-4, 1924-7). Dr Bergen outlines fully Lydgate's view of tragedy in his Introductory Note (I, pp. ix-xxvii). Further invaluable glosses are to be found in Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. III (London, 1981), pp. 219-23, and in the same author's 'Genesis and the Tragic Hero', in Shakespeare's Dramatic Heritage (London, 1969). Lydgate's "bookys nyne" of cautionary tales relate

"All of Fortunys transmutaciouns;
This blynde lady, how she made hem declyne
From the moost famous exaltaciouns:
* * * * *
For ther demerytes and lakkyng of vertu,
That they lyst nat ther Souereyn Lord to knowe:
For whoo is rekkeless to serve our Lord Iesu
Fortvnys wheel shal soone hym ovir-throwe."
(IV, 11. 3458-60, 3464-7).

Along the way, Lydgate indicates the precise reasons for their respective downfalls.

261 Johan the Euangelyst (see Note 34), op. cit., p. 1, 11. 3-6.

262 Ibid., p. 8, 11. 238-42.

263 Henry Bradley, 'Textual Notes on "The Enterlude of Johan the Evangelist"', MLR, Vol. 2 (1906/7); W H Williams, '"Irisdision" in the Interlude of "Johan the Euangelyst"', MLR, Vol. 3, (1907/8).

264 Johan the Euangelyst (see Note 34), op. cit., p. 4, 11. 115-6.

265 Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book named The Governor (London, 1962).

266 Ibid., Chaps. XIX-XXII, pp. 69-81.

267 Ibid., p. 76.

268 Johan the Euangelyst (see Note 34), op. cit., p. 12, 11. 358-60.

269 Ibid., p. 18, 11. 547-8.

270 Ibid., loc. cit., 11. 552-3.

271 Ibid., p. 4, 11. 109-20.

272 Ibid., p. 12, 11. 378-9.

273 Ibid., p. 21, 11. 641-5.

274 Glynne Wickham (see Note 70), op. cit., pp. 56-8. But note, too, the whole question of state censorship so admirably laid out in Chap. III, pp. 54-97. See also V C Gildersleeve, Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1961).

275 A P D'Entrèves, The Medieval Contribution to Political Thought (Oxford, 1939).

CHAPTER III

SHAPING THE FUTURE

It is something of a truism that prophets remain unsung in their own land. The three playmakers under review certainly fall under that mantle. The maker of Godly Queene Hester[1] is, in any case, anonymous, though his fine dramatic essay in sustained polemic is equally unknown. One commentator has described it as "permeated with a dignity and earnestness befitting quiet bravery in time of peril"[2] which is wholly to ignore the rascality of Hardydardy, the stunning emblematic effectiveness of the three vices (whose appearance, according to the same commentator, is "lame theatrically as a means of conveying characterisation")[3] and the excoriating protrayal of an all-powerful minister contained in Haman. The play allies, as it were, the spectacle of a Cecil B de Mille to the visual expertise and brilliance of an Orson Welles to create a wholly original work, a Biblical epic with a classical feel, shot through with comic effects culled from sermon lore and the practice of the pageant plays and interludes.

John Heywood's sources of inspiration stem from more elitist territory but, as we shall see, he too calls upon popular tradition and falls under the spell of the earthy, improvisational rudery of French farce, though his works are scaled to more modest proportions. He appears to have been a close personal friend of John Redford, the most original of the trio, whose play, Wit and Science[4], is an inspired crystallisation of the differing tendencies of his predecessors. Redford's masterpiece dates from the late 1530s, while the bulk of Heywood's dramatic works span the 1520s.

1. Godly Queene Hester: Satire as Narrative and Spectacle

Godly Queene Hester, "a new enterlude drawen oute of the holy scripture", was first printed in 1561, though internal evidence offers clear indication that the play was probably composed between 1525-29[5], at a time when not only was Wolsey's power about to decline from its highest point but also the charms of Anne Boleyn had begun to exert their most potent pressure upon the ardent young king. It is, in most respects, an innovative work which opens up the world of the interlude and restores to it the gift of narrative. The wide and colourful canvas is crowded with impressive figures who debate, declaim, soliloquize, talk and joke with one another; who represent a wide spectrum of society. The converging of their individual fates gives the play life and drama. The author paces his work with care, deploying three distinctive playing styles - two of them comedic - to achieve variety of rhythm and action. His satire, which is political, is well-aimed and unsparing, almost shocking in its intensity. The interlude's novel means and form had, perhaps, a less immediate impact than John Heywood's dramatic procedures, but in the long term its legacy was just as influential, especially in the matter of narrative spectacle, the use of music and in its bold acceptance of a longer time span. John Bale's King Johan and Thre Lawes owe much to their anonymous precursor as, in their different ways, do the playmakers of the transitional period 1534-58, as, for example, in Jacob and Esau.

Godly Queene Hester is a very considerable achievement, a colourful amalgam of past and current dramatic practice, ideal material for schoolboy

actors steeped in the potential of drama in education. Indeed, it constitutes tangible evidence of the boys' association with political satire and demonstrates how elaborate and spectacular such satire could be. Moreover, the satire is a continuing reminder of the effectiveness of that education in drama inherited from the homilists and Wisdom, here put to secular purpose to draw attention to the responsibilities of kingship and to warn against the tyrannies of the overmighty subject. The boys continue to foster a secularising process which marks a stylistic breach in the interlude form and accounts for the divergent paths taken by amateur and professional performers over the next forty years or so. As such, the play repays close scrutiny, especially since John Heywood's output represents a secularisation which first caters for boys but which comes to favour the professionals.

The Prologue straightway launches the topic of disputation as "To whome the greatest honour men ought to demise"[6]. Many

> ".....concluded honour due vnto ryches
> Some also to noble bloude, and high parayge
> Affirmed honour dewly to pertayne
> And some to policie and wysedome sage
> And some to power and superiall raigne"

and, finally,

> ".....that uertuous demenoure,
> To bæ excellent, and of moste honour."[7]

There is a loaded subtext to the notion of "uertuous demenoure", namely, that it is or can be sheer hypocrisy. This the interlude goes on to demonstrate in no uncertain terms. At the play's beginning, however, King Assuerus invites his lords, one of whom is the false Aman, to consider which of the qualities itemised

"..........is most worthy honoure to attayne
* * * * *
And as ye determine, so shall wee certaine,
Aduaunce to honoure, and to promotion applye
Alwayes the best, and that bee most worthye."[8]

He finds himself in agreement with their final conclusion:

"As ye haue sayed, so thinke we verely
That Iustis mainteneth y^{e} common weale."

and

"..........if that his /the king's/ lieutenaunt,
Shal happen to square from trueth and iustice,
* * * * *
The prince must nedes be circumspect and wise,
That no ambicion nor couetise
Through great welth and riches inordinat
Doe erect his corage, for to play checkmate."[9]

He chooses Aman as "oure chaunceloure", whose rise and fall is the exemplum dramatised.

Hester, in her role as queen, is the agent of Aman's downfall. He is about to hang all Jews, when she reveals his perfidy to the king in open court. She proclaims herself Jewish and, thus, senstive to their interests. Assuerus believes her denunciation since he has earlier chosen her as his queen, not merely because she is a "fayre damsell of the highest stature" but also because he sets a high premium upon reason and intelligence:

"..................we thynke it expedient,
Some what to proue by communication
Her lernynge and her language eloquent
And by some probleme of hye dubitation
To knowe her answere and consultation."[10]

Hester satisfies on all counts; the view of her duties as an extention of the king's authority is accepted without contradiction so that,

"The kynge wyth hys councell most parte of all
From this realme to be absente,.....

Then the Quenes wysdome, sadly, must deale,
By her great vertue, to rewle the common weale."[11]

Hester is a later manifestation of Medwall's Lucres, a humanist woman of beauty and intelligence, fit consort of the reigning monarch. Her emblematic lineage is impeccable. In 1329, as part of the city of London's pageant of reconciliation with Richard II, a scriptural tablet was presented to his queen at Temple Bar, whose importance was "that as Esther mediated between the wrath of Ahasuerus and his subjects so she too should mediate between the king and the citizens when the need arose".[12] In the interlude, Assuerus is the apex of a triangle whose base comprises the extremes of good and evil as represented by Hester and Aman.

It is easy to tie the play's satirical intent to specific events, as does David Bevington when he identifies the play closely with Wolsey's initial predations upon religious houses and with the then parlous state of Catherine of Aragon's fortunes. "The play is loyal to the Catholic Queen Katherine, to monasticism, and to systems of personal charity and hospitality. It deplores lowborn counselors, with obvious reference to Wolsey", and centres upon the "improper delegation of authority".[13] All of which is certainly true. The monks, or Jews, of the play had a tradition of "hospitalitye" and had

"Eke great knowledge both of cattel and of grayne
That none to them like houshold coulde maintayne",[14]

though why their rich households should have been thought any more acceptable than Aman's is a question begged all too early by their spokeswoman. Hester defends the monastic system for its beneficence, which is made possible by the monks' rights to possessions as sanctified

by the Almighty:

> "Sinse God therfore hath begunne theyre housholde,
> And ay hath preserved theyre hospitallite,
> I aduise noman to be so bolde,
> The same to dissolue what so euer he be."[15]

The Queen's desire for their preservation is apparently prompted by her gloomy report on the state of the nation as outlined in an important earlier pronouncement:

> "And where goddes seruyce and hospitalitie
> Doeth decay, and almes to the poorall,
> There maye be wealth in places two or three
> But I assure you the most part in generall,
> Neither haue meate nor money, nor streugth* substancial
> Fytte to doe you seruice, when you have nede
> whiche is no good order, me thynkes in very dede
>
> Let God alwaye therfore haue hys parte
> And the poore fed by hospitalitie
> Eche man his measure, be it pynte or quarte,
> And no man to muche, for that is great ieoberdie."[16]
>
> */recte strength/

Rural Englishmen struggled to survive. When the harvests were good, they were taxed to death by Wolsey's Amicable Loans levied to finance the monarch's continental adventures, which had no possible interest for them; when harvests were bad, they starved. Besides, "England was a country of subsistence farming", so that "over the country as a whole, nine farmers out of ten in all probability worked as a household to get the wherewithal to eat and the small annual surplus to buy household goods and clothes at the nearest fair"[17] - no wonder entertainment thrived.

The subsequent dissolution of the monasteries created a vagrancy problem overnight. Assuerus had learnt more than just a trick or two from the wretched Aman, a fact that Thomas Cromwell exploited to the full - he

had, after all, been one of Wolsey's more assiduous commissioners. Wolsey, like Cromwell after him, flattered Henry VIII and promoted the king's interests to gain his own ends. Consider, for example, some extracts from the Cardinal's letter to Henry VIII dated February 2, 1526:

> "(i) ...wherein S^{r}. as in all other your affairs, I have not, ne shall pretermit any labor, diligence, study or travail, which may be to the conducing of the same to such end as shall be to your Highness honor, exaltation, & benefit.
>
> (ii) ...the other /matter which More had written about to the king, concerning/ my officers in the Suppression of certain exile & and small Monasteries, wherein neither God is served, ne religion kept, which, with your gracious ayde & assistance, converting the same to a far better use, I purpose to annex unto your intended College of Oxford, for the encrease of good Letters & virtue."[18]

It was to be called Cardinal College! Inevitably, the project roused hostility. Later, in the same letter, Wolsey complains that

> "...some folks, which be always more prone to speak evil & report the worst without knowledge of the truth, have percase informed your Highness of some disorder that should be used by my commissaries in suppressing of the said Monasteries....,"

but

> "...Almighty God I take to my record, I have not meant, intended, or gone about, ne also have willed mine officers, to do anything concerning the said Suppression, but under such forme & manner, as is & hath been to the full satisfaction, recompence, & joyous contentation of any person which hath had, or could pretend to have right or interest in such wise...etc."[19]

The anonymous author of Godly Queene Hester catches the tone with canny accuracy - the flattery, self-righteousness, the faint whining:

> "...you know what I haue bene, eke what I am,
> Bothe in wyll and woorde, and occupation,
> Of assured thoughte without adulation,
> And as glad to doe seruice vnto your grace
> As euer I was to live anye tyme or space.
> And for the same great malice I do sustayne,

Both of your nobles and communaltie
To my greate greuaunce and merueylous payne,
And eke further, I feare the ieoperdye
Of my lyfe."[20]

With bold, sharp strokes he etches the portrait of a ruthless and subtle tyrant, whose resemblance to the real Wolsey is, however, only partial. It is truly engraved in acid. So monstrous is Aman, that he has beggared Pride - "Here entreth Pride syngynge poorely arayed"[21] - Ambition and Adulation. They bequeath to him their attributes as recognition of his singularity in evil. Aman gains the king's assent to the slaughter of the Jews,

"A people not goode, nor for youre common weale,
* * * * *
They wyll no wise live vnder awe,
Of any prince but they wil be exempte,
wherby good order may sone be interempte,
And occasion is as I do feare me
your subiectes to rebell in hope of lyke liberte."[22]

That is clearly ridiculous. Such disturbances as there were about this time, as, for example, those in the Lavenham and Sudbury areas of Suffolk, were in reaction to over-heavy taxation, sanctified unwillingly by the Chancellor. The writer may well be recalling the turmoil and slaughter of the Peasants Revolt in Germany but, despite a certain alarm, he cannot at that stage have seriously envisaged an equivalent upsurge in England. As regards the appropriation of decayed religious houses, the Cardinal was not the first to take over church lands to furnish personal endowments. In 1524, Bishop Fisher had appropriated two nunneries to swell the funds of his college of St Johns at Cambridge. The foundations Wolsey disposed of were by no means flourishing and amounted to no more than the equivalent of one large abbey with an annual income of about £1,800. He added another seven houses worth £200 p.a. to endow his school at Ipswich. The sins of the

monastic houses were largely those of omission in pastoral matters and of laxity and self-indulgence in personal behaviour, sins exemplified in varying degrees by Wolsey, whose personal ostentation caused widespread affront and who enthusiastically initiated numerous new and valuable procedures which he never saw through to the end.

The interlude is the work of a man whose personal animus towards the Cardinal was strong. Hester is the beneficent mediatrix of the oppressed but is not overtly the main target of Aman's hatred, as Greg suggests[23], though, reading between the lines, one may hazard that someone close to Catherine was behind the piece. The Franciscan Observants were a noted exception to the generally corrupt establishment. They had undertaken reform and maintained seven houses in England, of which the royal foundation at Greenwich was the most important. It not only enjoyed Henry VIII's patronage but supplied confessors to both Catherine and the Princess Mary. One such confessor may well have penned Godly Queene Hester to sustain, even boost, the Queen's reputation at a time when Anne Boleyn had entered the amatory field, especially since Wolsey, while viewing Anne with anxious disapproval, did nothing to prevent Henry's growing estrangement from his lawful wife. "To Wolsey, Catherine had always been one of the alternative centres of power which he did his best to eliminate, and Catherine had always returned his politically charged hostility with a personal dislike proper to a devout daughter of the Church in the face of this incongruous ruler of it."[24] The writer is also very skilful at disguising his critical stance towards the monarch. Aman's inheritance of Pride, Ambition and

Adulation makes him the active centre of evil, so that it is easy to overlook the subtext to Assuerus' delegation of power to his Chancellor "to rewle Israell". His words -

> "For a season we wyll to our solace
> Into our orcharde or some other place."[25]

- prefigure Old Hamlet in his orchard, Prospero's withdrawal into the realm of the intellect; most striking of all, the Duke's too ready trust in Angelo. Indeed, the correspondence between Godly Queene Hester and Measure for Measure is too great for one to believe in pure coincidence. The interlude warns that rulers ignore reality at their peril. Failure to divine Aman's scheming is ascribed to the pursuit of "our solace" - could this mean Anne Boleyn? If so, then the subtext clearly indites Henry's lack of insight, the result of his allowing personal desires to come before public duty. In praising Hester's virtues, the author locates the cause of the king's weakness, for, given the play's implied ambience, it cannot be assumed that "our solace" refers to Hester and not to another, more nubile attraction.

Godly Queene Hester is a powerful, effective and satirical interlude which points the way to the anti-Catholic diatribes of John Bale and others as much as to the partisan Respublica. It has other more remarkable innovative qualities. First, it is the earliest surviving example of an interlude devised wholly to a satirical purpose. Previously, even as in a piece like Skelton's Magnyfycence, the comic denunciation comprised a lesser strand in a fabric woven mostly of the imperatives of Catholic belief. Here, the primary drive is an attack upon Wolsey as a means of demonstrating the need for the diligent application of justice and virtue in the running of

the state. Of the two subsidiary themes, one recommends care and caution in delegation; the other reveals how educated women may contribute to the common weal. Secondly, the play resumes the art of storytelling. This is also true of Heywood in at least four of his plays. However, as we shall see, he sets out principally to entertain; his narratives concern single moments in the lives of a number of ordinary folk, comically presented and faithful to the three unities - Johan Johan has a single scene without Tyb's home - whose moral strictures are shaded into the texture by an essentially benevolent hand. The maker of Godly Queene Hester means quite unequivocally to instruct as he entertains. In that sense he is retrospective. But his narrative is on a more epic scale, like The Conversion of St Paul. It occupies a longer time continuum, which is explained in part by its source in the Bible. The same is true of cycle-plays. Unlike them, however, the story of Hester is told in a variety of styles. One is serious and serves to carry the central story; another is high comedy, as in the scene of the indigent vices, which has a Jonsonian feel; the third, a blend of comedia erudita and that associated with interlude vices, is applied to Hardydardy, a licensed fool who comments wittily upon the varied fortunes of Aman. His double ancestry prefigures both Autolycus and Lear's Fool. The playmaker exploits his chosen styles in a series of cleverly juxtaposed incidents which contrast with and comment upon one another. The cycle-plays were never like this, though the writer's lavish demands seemingly recreate their method indoors. There is, too, an allusion to classical tragedy procedures when Hardydardy reports:

> "The gallhouse he /Āman7 made both hye and brode,
> For Mardocheus he them mentē,

> And now he is faine him selfe for certaine,
> To play the fyrst pagente."[26]

Violent events take place off-stage and, as here, are reported. Indeed, although the time span violates the conventions of classical tragedy, the interlude achieves a unity as concentratedly powerful as the Greek form, a fact not so much stated as inherent.

Thirdly, Godly Queene Hester requires a considerable cast. There are seventeen good speaking parts and the action calls for a substantial number of extras to serve as pursuivants, prospective brides, assorted courtiers and attendants both to the king and to Aman. Music is used in its dual role, to signify the insouciance of the vices and to lend ritual significance and authority to Hester's move to unseat Aman:

> "Call in the chapell to the intent they maye
> Syng some holy himpne to spede vs this day."[27]

The final scene, which incorporates the setting up of a banquet by the attendant servants, must have been truly spectacular, a court of Solomon regal in its splendour, at which justice is dispensed. Denouncing Aman before her lord and master, the avenging Hester must have cut an imposing figure. All the more ironic that, in her subsequent appearance before the Legatine court, in June 1529, Catherine of Aragon's eloquence should fail to win her an appeal, though admittedly the dice were loaded. The interlude's lavish requirements point to court performance, where the satire would have had its greatest effect, especially if, as I believe, the piece dates from c.1526, when Wolsey was at the height of his power. There would be less satisfaction in mounting so elaborate an attack upon a minister in decline. Contemporaries could not have known, till quite

near the end, how precarious was the Cardinal's authority between 1526-9. The Inns of Court provide an attractive choice of alternative venue, but Wolsey had already savaged Roo's "goodly disguisyng plaied at Greis inne",[28] which places them beyond serious consideration. Besides, performance at court carried the battle firmly into the enemy's camp. As to who first acted it, St Paul's scholars recommend themselves, although David Bevington proposes "that the play was actually produced in the Chapel by the Chapel choir, using for its stage the same structure employed in religious ceremony".[29] But Ritwise' boys would have understood at once the interlude's various styles - we already know they could tackle satire (see Chapter III, pp.180-2) - while there is no reason why the Chapel choir should not have lent musical support. The use of the Chapel as a playing area is thus quite reasonable and there is certainly a later instance of such practice to reinforce belief.[30] On the other hand, a banqueting hall is an equally viable performance space and, in some respects, more appropriate and practical. The Chapel boys could easily have been set in a minstrels gallery, while servants would already have been at hand to set up the banquet, thereby achieving an unexpectedly close rapport between spectators and stage.

Finally, there is the question of the "trauers". Richard Southern deals exhaustively with the subject.[31] He draws particular attention to the marginal stage directions as opposed to those set in the body of the text. The "trauers" reference is one of the former kind - "Here the kynge entryth the trauers & aman goeth out".[32] Southern deduces that it is "a fairly small two-part curtain, perhaps some eight feet high and some six

to ten feet wide in all, hung on a rod supported on two uprights, and set up on the floor about a couple of feet in front of the centre element of the screens";[33] which seems quite reasonable. What is more dubious is his assumption that all stage directions are those of the playmaker, whereas the marginals may be editorial glosses inserted at the time of printing, 1561, by which time a "trauers" (as well as a raised stage) was quite in order. The existence of curtains among Rastell's theatrical gear[34] does not make them traverse curtains. In any case, why should the playmaker have wanted to place his stage directions both to the side of and in the text, contrary to then practice? I am more inclined to think that the late printing of the interlude catches the temper of the times. Marriage and succession were in the air. Queen Elizabeth I had rebuked the Commons, in 1559, for daring to persuade her to marry. Thereafter, she perused various potential consorts, but discarded them. By late 1560, Elizabeth's infatuation with Robert Dudley was in full flower, while Cecil, her chief minister, was in disgrace. The death of Dudley's wife, Amy Robsart, in suspicious circumstances, scotched the intimacy, but it may have seemed a near thing. Godly Queene Hester was possibly seen as a timely piece to popularise, even if it seems less so to us. Stage directions reflecting current dramatic practice are thus wholly appropriate though in many cases they merely reiterate what has already been made clear by the text. By 1561, the need to explain the obvious may have been deemed essential, the earlier conventions having fallen into disuse.

2. John Heywood

John Heywood worked on a smaller scale. His known output epitomises

the New Learning, yet at least three of his plays embody a means by which professional troupes might have circumvented the rather more hazardous consequences of the changed religious and political climate. It was unfortunate for them that their expertise and popular appeal constituted an ideal weapon of propaganda. There have been several worthy attempts to piece together Heywood's life,[35] none of which manages to convey any very rounded portrait of the man. He continues to live largely by hearsay. He did survive four Tudor reigns, however, as a devout Catholic, though he must only have felt thoroughly safe during Mary Tudor's brief sojourn on the throne. In 1545, he was implicated in a plot to do away with Cranmer but, "although he was attached for treason, for denying the King's supremacy, yet, using the clemency of the king, upon his better reformation and amendment, made an open and solemn recantation in the face of all the people",[36] outside St Paul's cathedral, an experience which may well have shaped the nature of his art. He seems to have ceased writing plays about 1529. If he continued to do so, no finished product has so far come to light, though his secretary, Thomas Whythorne, writes that:

> "...at þe request of doktor ⟨Thos.⟩ Cranmer, lạt a ⟨rchb⟩ yshop of Cantorbury, hee mad A sertayn enter⟨lude⟩ or play, þe which was devyzed vpon þe parts of Man, at þe end wherof hee lykneth and applieth þe sirkumstans þerof to þe vniuer-sall estat of Chrystes church."[37]

He claims that the play is in verse and quotes fourteen lines, rendered, for some curious reason, into prose. The passage begins at a point where Reason has claimed superiority and government over man and all living things:

> "And þe diffrens between man þe kommaunder, and beas⟨ts⟩ being by man kommaunded, iz only Reazon in man, þe disserner

> of good and ill, ƿe good in man elekted by me, and ƿ'ill in man by mee reȝekted. man obeing mee shynth in exsellensy, and disobeing mee, shewth mans insolensy. Now sin⟨s I⟩ reazon am ƿ'⟨o⟩nly qu⟨a⟩lyte, ƿa⟨t q⟩ualifiet man ⟨in s⟩uch A temp⟨er⟩ans az setteth man in plas of prinsipalite abov all beasts to stand in gove r̄nans who but I over man shiuld him self advans, to govern lykwyz, sins I bring man ƿerto, and keep man ƿerin doing az I bid him do."[38]

Will enters later to dispute with Reason over who should rule man. The debate ends in a draw. Despite this curious fragment, evidence of Heywood's later dramatic activities is so lacking in detail as to make even speculation hazardous, which suggests that he preferred to keep what is nowadays termed a low profile, in the interests of self-preservation.

There are glimpses of him working with boys' companies in mid-century, while at the same time making versified collections of proverbs and epigrams, and working upon his long allegorical poem in rhyme royal, The Spider and the Fly. One biographer has suggested that his "name has lived because of his dramtic work, but he was not primarily a dramatist. He probably wrote many interludes and farces which are not preserved to us, but no matter how large the amount, we know his life was not mainly one of playwriting, or acting. It would perhaps be possible to regard him chiefly as a musician".[39] Which is a somewhat sweeping assertion to base upon evidence that, if not insubstantial, is undoubtedly thin.

Heywood is notable for plays almost certainly written with boy actors in mind. His first three plays[40] not only transform disputatio into dramatic action but thereby become the means for the young performers to sharpen their rhetorical skills, to practise their dramatic technique and to come to terms with theatrical space. The ubiquitous use of colloquies in the teaching of Latin, especially those of Juan Luis Vives and Erasmus,

will already have accustomed them to the duologue, - though some are written for more than two speakers - while grounding them coincidentally in the basic tenets of the new learning. Heywood's The Foure PP[41] brings dispute into the market-place or, rather, onto the open road, The Pardoner and the Frere[42] adds to it a pinch of French farce,[43] whose irreverent exuberance Heywood finally distils into a wry, wholly English domestic comedy entitled Johan Johan, Tyb his Wife and Sir John.[44] His plays range, therefore, from courtly sophistication to plebeian knockabout. As to whether all or only some were played in courtly venues it is impossible to say. However, he had long had access to court circles. In 1515, at the age of eighteen, he may have been a paid servant of Henry VIII as either a chorister, a musician or some other household servant.[45] By 1519 he was being paid a regular sum quarterly,[46] while in August 1520, he is referred to as a "synger";[47] by 1526 he had become a player of virginals,[48] a career in which he was confirmed by a warrant dated 8 December, 1528. That same year he became a dapifer camerae for life. In 1529, he married Joan Rastell, daughter of the printer John[49] and niece of Sir Thomas More, which would have further strengthened his connections with the court while bringing him into close contact with the humanist aspirations of the More circle. It is during this period of the advance of his fortunes that all six plays attributed to him came to be written. His pupil, Thomas Whythorne, who, in 1545, "waz plased ⟨wit⟩h mr John Haywood, to be both hiz servant and skoller", offers fair comment upon his master's reputation among his contemporaries in mid-career, even allowing for a modicum of flattery:

> "..hee waz not only very skylled in Muzik, and playeng on þe virʒinals but also such an english poet, az þe lyk, for hiz witt and invension, with þe quantite þat hee wrot, waz not az þen in England, nor befor hiz tym sinse Chawsers tym."[50]

I do not intend here to enter upon the knotty problem of attribution, which has been covered with some thoroughness by others.[51] At least three of the plays can with certainty be ascribed to Heywood - Witty and Witless, A Play of Love, and The Play of the Wether. They have been grouped by scholars as marking a first phase in the writer's career, one in which disputation predominates. The Foure PP and The Pardoner and the Frere are more cautiously admitted into the canon, while the attribution of Johan Johan The Husband "has been generally accepted as plausible in spite of the lack of substantial evidence for it".[52]

i) Old Forms in New Guise

Witty and Witless has attracted some undeservedly harsh brickbats. It is "too undramatic";[53] the "dramatic structure could hardly be more rudimentary...The writer clearly does not know how to handle more than two characters at once".[54] Richard Southern, in his book on the staging of pre-Shakespearian plays, dismisses the work in some ten lines as "simply an argument or disputation",[55] - how eloquent is that "simply"! - as if, therefore, there was no staging problem. The interlude's composition probably dates from c. 1521, by which time Heywood had been in royal service almost six years. As a singer he had no doubt taken part in disguisings and pageants. He will have seen interludes at court and noted, carefully, what pleased; disputations, for example. Witty and

Witless is not, therefore, so surprising a choice for an initial incursion into the realm of court entertainment. Its formal simplicity requires verbal panache, a quality Heywood already possessed. Besides, his first three interludes encourage the belief that he was a university man since each, in some particular, confirms this impression.

Witty and Witless is modelled upon the form of Lenten disputationes leading to batchelorhood. That it was first presented before the king may be inferred from the author's final instruction that: "Thes thre stave next folowyng in the Kyngs absens, ar voyde".[56] Thus, John's opening address,

> "A mervelus mater , marcyfull lord,
> Yf reason whyth this conclewcyon a cord,
> Better to be a foole, than a wyse man,"[57]

fulfils a dual purpose by making Henry VIII the determining master and by announcing to him the subject of debate. Jerome is the king's surrogate within the play. James and John are respondentes , the latter earnest and, possibly, inexperienced - James notes dismissively that: "Thys ys some yowng schooleman, a fresh comonar".[58] James, on the other hand, typifies the fashionable wit. His Parthian sally at Jerome before departure, is:

> "But babyll your will, thus wyll I byd vppon;
> Better be sott Somer then sage Salamon!"

Jerome turns to John and observes:

> "Geve ye sentens, or ye her what I cane say,
> Loo, how wyll caryth hym and hys wytt away."[59]

There is a pun upon "wyll" which includes the Christian name of the King's fool, Somers, and the notion of wilfulness. James is, by implication, a

licensed fool, whose arguments should be received with caution. Besides,

> ".....thynk yow the nombere
> Standethe as Somer dothe, all day yn slomber,
> Nay! Somer ys a sot! foole for a kyng!
> But sots in many other mens howsyng
> Bear water, bear woodd, and do yn drugery."[60]

James has argued that to be witless is the better state. In doing so, he has parried his inexperienced adversary's propositions with some style. Jerome sets out to demonstrate that to lack reason is to be as "beasts" which "have thyngs of nede, but no furder pleasyng".[61] Pleasure derives from mental appreciation. "What thynge", he asks, "dysposythe most the varyete/ Betwene man and beast?" "Reson in man, perde", replies John.[62]

In the play's central argument, Heywood urges the cultivation of the mind as the means by which a man may excel in life. To do otherwise is to ignore God's commandments:

> "Eche man as he vsythe gods gyfts of grace,
> So schall he have in hevyn hys degre or place.
> But, mark thys chefe grownd, the sum of scrypture saythe
> We must walk with these gyfts in the path of faythe;
> In whyche walk who wurkthe most in God's commandment,
> He schall have most, and seynt Powle showthe lyk entent."[63]

The lesson is that of the parable of the talents, which prevails upon men to invest in life in the expectation of rich returns, and warns of the misuse of God's gifts to them. When John opines that:

> "An old proverb makythewith thys, whyche I tak good,
> Better one byrd in hand then ten in wood!,"

Jerome asks:

> "What yf of the ten byrds in the wood, eche one
> Wer as good as that one in your hand alone,
> And that ye myght cache them all ten yf ye wolde,
> Wolde ye not leve one byrd, for the ten now tolde!"[64]

A <u>via activa</u> is being recommended, tempered and guided by the restraints

of wit, or knowledge, which reasons that a life acted out according to God's precepts is a virtuous one that merits salvation. It is a very humanist stance, one that underlies Dean Colet's foundation of St Paul's School. It must greatly have appealed to the young King Henry, who not only actively pursued worldly success but whose avowed devotion to the Catholic faith was shortly to win him the title Fidei Defensor from the Pope no less. By contrasting the attitude of James and Jerome, Heywood, by a simple conceit, makes a point about Will Somers and Henry VIII. The king's fool is not introduced into the text by the playmaker merely to work off a grudge, as some commentators have supposed, but to distinguish between those who merely entertain and those who rule the common weal; to demonstrate wit in the service of wisdom as opposed to wit wantonly spent. Verdi's Rigoletto, based on Victor Hugo's Le Roi s'Amuse, makes just such a point. Men should develop their talents to the best of their ability in the service of God; like the young Henry,

> "....most loved and drade supreme soferayne,
> The shynyng of whose most excellent talent
> Ymployde to Gods glory, above all the trayne
> Thus wytt wantyth her recytall to retayne."[65]

Flattering perhaps, but, until the divorce question spilled over into the public domain and Wolsey's pre-eminence was ended, few smelled out Henry's shortcomings. Thomas More loved his sovereign no less as he went to his death.

Heywood's Witty and Witless is a typical court entertainment. He deftly places erudition within a dramatic context and amusingly exploits the possibilities. Academic disputations were dramatic events.[66] The

interaction, both physical and verbal, of master, respondentes and audience affected the focus of concentration and spatial tensions as much as any staged event. In Heywood's interlude, the verbal felicities obviate elaborate presentation, which, in any case, is to some extent provided by the presence of the illustrious audience and by the venue itself. John proposes the topic of debate; the disputants shape a pattern of arguments whose cut and thrust, strike and parry is an intellectual equivalent of those other tournament skills no less beloved of early Tudor spectators. Here the weapons are words wrought into the language of debate. A prime dictate of humanist education as set down by Erasmus is here being upheld.

> "All knowledge falls into two divisions: the knowledge of 'truths' and the knowledge of 'words': and if the former is first in importance, the latter is acquired first in order of time...Language thus claims the first place in the order of studies."[67]

Perfection and expertise in language distinguish the man of knowledge and virtue. All the more reason to eschew foolish and idle chatter, except at those times of licensed indulgence as, for example, the Feast of Fools. No wonder the revels grew and prospered. However, Heywood's disputants are not mere spokesmen. John's innocence and naiveté, his lack of experience in debate are contrasted with the 'flashier' mode of the self-possessed James, whose prime concern is the pursuit of "plesewre", even to gaining the "plesewr of salvashyon" by the simplest route:

> "James: ...one plesewre the wyttles are sewre evyr,
> And of that plesewre, wytty ar sewr nevyr!
> John: What plesewr ys that?
> James: Plesewr of salvashyon!"[68]

James has style, but a style reminiscent of Pryde in Nature or Courtly

Abusyon in Magnyfycence. Though he is an altogether cruder villain, New Gyse of Mankynde understands perfectly the fashion James affects.

> "Mercy: Few wordys, few and well sett!
> New Gyse: Ser, yt ys þe new gyse and þe new jett.
> Many wordys and schortely sett
> Thys ys þe new guise, euery-dele."[69]

Indeed, James' self-assurance hints at origins indigenously English, an insouciance inherited from ne'er-do-wells of another ilk. A fact well illustrated by Heywood's next offering.

"The vyse nother louer nor beloued" of A Play of Love, seemingly an elaborate "newe and a mery enterlude concernyng pleasure and payne in loue"[70], catches Heywood standing, like Medwall, at the crossroads of dramatic evolution. The precise meaning of "vyse", a term also applied to Mery Report in The Play of the Wether, has intermitently engaged scholars. Bernard Spivack argues that Heywood's two Vices are "morality vices transplanted into Heywoodian didactic comedy. They display almost all the stock dramatic features of their lineage, with the serious homiletic side omitted."[71] In the process, the "vyse" had, by Heywood's time, "become distinguished doctrinally and dramatically from his allegorical cohorts (all of them more or less comic), and had developed, in consequence, a theatrical personality and an apparatus of stage business substantial enough so that he could be lifted out of his allegorical and homiletic context and cultivated in comedy of the type Heywood was writing".[72] This holds truer for Mery Report than for Nother Louer nor Beloued. His ancestry is surely older, which is why any allegorical trappings are superfluous. Describing his visit to hell to rescue Margery from Satan's kingdom, the

Pardoner of The Foure PP meets up with a "deuyll" who

> "....knew me well and I at laste
> Remembred hym syns longe tyme paste
> For as good happe wolde haue it chaunce
> Thys deuyll and I were of olde acqueyntaunce
> For oft in the play of corpus Cristi
> He hath played the deuyll at Coventry."[73]

Heywood was to marry Joan Rastell, whose father, John, was a Coventry man. It is not unreasonable to suppose that John Rastell revisited his home town from time to time, to attend the cycle plays perhaps, and that he took with him, on at least one occasion, his future son-in-law. Nother Louer nor Beloued's explosive entry in the interlude's latter half fortifies the supposition that Heywood must have retained vivid impressions of the appurtenances and goings-on of the diabolic horde to want to include an episode that so authentically captures the staging of cycle play diablerie :

> "Here the vyse cometh in rōnyng sodenly aboute the place among the audyens with a hye copyn tanke on his hed full of squybs fyred cryeng water, water/fyre fyre/fyre/water/ water/fyre tyll/the fyre in the squybs be spent."[74]

The vice's excuse for leaving to assume his infernal headgear -

> "I haue lefte my boke behynde me
> I beseche our lorde I neuer go hens
> If I wolde not rather haue spent forty pens
> But syns it is thus I must go fetch it
> I wyll not tary, a syr the deuyll stretch it."[75]

- recalls Titivillus and his scroll, while the "forty pens " touch off memories of certain pieces of silver. Heywood's "vyse" does not need to divest himself of allegorical accessories since he originates in the cycle plays. He is recognisably a tavern type, being partial to both women and drink, a member of the Devil's fifth column. However, like the evil quartet in Mankynde, he not only implicates the audience in his

lechery -

"And syns my parte nowe doth thus well appere
Be ye my parteners now all of good chere
But sylence euery man vpon a payne
For mayster woodcock is nowe come agayne."[76]

- but he brings Louer Loued to a dangerous state of despair:

"Then brek hart alas why lyue I this day
My dere harte is dystroyd lyfe and welth away."[77]

At several points in the text, the others refer to his "foly" and, indeed, he possesses some of the qualities of his namesake in Skelton's Magnyfycence. Yet, despite his allegorical title and his kinship to interlude vices, there are more insidious undertones to Nother Loued nor Beloued's entertainingly provocative banter.

The Foure PP, which is very different in tone and rhythm from A Play of Love, furnishes further evidence to reinforce the belief that Heywood attended mystery plays and had been impressed by them. His descriptions of Lucifer and his minions are colourful and precise, instinct with the kind of detail that goes with visual spectacle:

"Theyr hornes well gylt theyr clowes full clene
Theyr taylles well kempt and as I wene
With Sothery butter theyr bodyes anoynted
I never sawe deuyls so well appoynted."[78]

Shortly after, the Pardoner is brought before Lucifer himself. His verbal portrait of the arch-fiend is so thrillingly alive that it must be the imaginative recreation of a performance Heywood was present at.

"He smyled on me well favoredly
Bendynge hys browes as brode as barne durres
Shakynge hys eares as ruged as burres
Rolynge hys yes* as rounde as two bushels
Flastynge** the fyre out of his nose thryls
Gnashynge hys teeth so vaynglorously
That me thought tyme to fall to flatery."[79]

*/recte eys/
**/recte flashynge/

True it is that gargoyles, sculptured buttresses, misericords, illuminations and other carved 'objects' carried vivid images of the Prince of Darkness, but Heywood seems to draw from life, to capture the immediacy of performance. The Pardoner's narrative also borrows from Chaucer[80] and exhibits the same story-telling skill, though it is shorter, less rich in diversion and peripheral detail. The same holds true for Nother Louer nor Beloued, who tells a racy tale of sexual infidelity that would have delighted Celestyne, just as Calisto would have recognised in Louer not Beloued a reflection of himself. Heywood rediscovered narrative, storytelling and characterisation in the older dramatic forms. Their appeal for him must have been strong since his last three plays are differing solutions to the creative urge to pour old wines into new bottles. The tales of both Nother Louer nor Beloued and the Pardoner, by virtue of their placing within their respective dramatic structures, also point to Heywood's considerable debt to French farce, which was to furnish him with the means to perfect the integration of narrative into the world of the interlude.

Before dealing with this innovative aspect of his work, I wish to review the performance auspices of A Play of Love, and to trace the humanist bias of The Play of the Wether. Even in the former work, reason is extolled by Louer Loued in an important speech which also confirms the play's provenance in university disputatio:

> "Though nature force man styfly to encline
> To his owne parte in ech particular thing
> yet reason wolde man whan man shal determine /my italics/
> Other mens partes by indifferent awarding
> Indifferent to be in al his reasoning

wherfore in this parte cut out of affeccion
So that indifferency be direccion."[81]

"Indifferency" will crop up again in The Play of the Wether. A Play of Love is already an amalgam of the medieval cycle play and moral interlude tradition, of humanism and of French farce - the "vyse's" sermon joyeux - an ambitious fusion of styles and ideas for a young man's apparently second attempt at playmaking. Speculation about where it was first performed also raises some interesting points. R J Schoeck is keen to annex it to the Inns of Court. He has suggested that there is, within the play, a covert attack upon Wolsey on behalf of the common lawyers - "...for some of the lawyers hatred would not be too strong a description of their feelings"; that it is "a satire or parody of the law, with a conjectured Inn of Court presentation".[82] He notes that obscene-legal word play is common in Heywood's interludes and other writings. In A Play of Love, he draws attention to the vice's reply to Louer nor Loued:

"Let me fele your nose, nay fere not man be bolde
well though this ars be warme and this nose colde
yet these twayne by attorney brought in one place
Are as he seyth colde and whot both in lyke case,"[83]

where "by attorney" means both a properly qualified legal agent practising in courts of common law and an advocate, a mediator (Louer nor Loued); and, a little later, to his pun on "torde"/tort.[84]

"The most striking indication that the Play of Love was doubtless written for a special audience in the Inns of Court is its strikingly heavy legalistic language: the word case (and cause) is used more than sixty times, for example, and many words (like let, frustrate, grief, dyssease) are used in a technically legal rather than a general sense."[85]

It should come as no surprise to find one of the Thomas More circle exploiting legal terms. The legal profession would certainly have

enjoyed the interlude as an amusing gloss on courtly love, especially since - if entries in the Lincoln's Inn Black Book are to be believed[86] - the members of the Inns were concerned more with loins than love. What is more, Henry VIII's infatuation with Anne Boleyn must have fuelled court gossip. "By 1525-6 what had probably hitherto been light dalliance with an eighteen or nineteen year-old girl had begun to grow into something deeper and more dangerous", and she, "either because of virtue or ambition...refused to become his mistress and thus follow the conventional, inconspicuous path of her sister; and the more she resisted, the more, apparently, did Henry prize her".[87] The debate between Louer not Beloued and Woman Beloued not Louyng must have generated a cherishable mal d'amour within the young king, while the "nede of contentacion for a gyde", as modifier of extremes, will have allowed him to flatter himself on his patience and forbearance. In short, A Play of Love is a topical piece, whose performance at Christmas[88] c. 1526/7 would have added spice to a seasoned entertainment.

Who the first players were is anybody's guess, but the text is, I think, better served by adult actors, which is not to say that boys could not or did not perform it. They may even have premièred it, for its style is well within their grasp, though the subject matter might initially have been thought too delicate to place in the hands of the young. If adults were the first performers, then the young men of the legal profession recommend themselves. In which case, the piece was probably first presented at the Inns of Court, where the legal flavour of certain passages would duly have been appreciated. Subsequent staging at court

would follow naturally, especially given the style and content of the debate.

ii) Humanism and Dispute

The Play of the Wether finds Heywood writing with boy actors and school audiences firmly in mind. Unlike his previous efforts, the interlude requires a cast of ten with no room for doubling since all the "sewters" appear before Jupiter at the final judgment. The didactic features are artfully contained within a colourful setting; the diverse characters are created from a range of influences; the play is almost wholly secular in tone and intent. Heywood combines his ingredients with an unerring hand to produce an ambience full of light and air, pacy, witty and thoroughly English. It is a step forward from Medwall's Fulgens and Lucres, for it draws upon the whole past tradition of English dramatic practice as well as upon the new. Jupiter opens the play with a lengthy formal address to the audience which, despite his classical origins, is reminiscent of God's statement that launches the Towneley cycle:

> "For above all goddes, syns our fathers fale,
> We, Iupiter, were ever pryncypale."[89]

He outlines the cause of the quarrel between the contending elements - just as Pan summarises the background to the plot in Menander's The Dyskolos - and concludes by informing his listeners that

> "They have, in conclusyon, holly surrendryd
> In our handes, as mych as concernynge
> All maner wethers by them engendryd,
> The full of theyr powrs, for term everlastynge,
> To set suche order as standyth wyth our pleasynge,
> Whyche thynge, as of our parte, no parte requyred,
> But of all theyr partys ryght humbly desyred
> To take uppon us. Wherto we dyd assente."[90]

In other words, we are in for an extended *disputatio*, with the god as arbiter. However, the points for or against are made by a procession of types who may also be seen as representative Englishmen. As in Chaucer's tales or the confessional episode of the Deadly Sins in Langland's *Piers Plowman*,[91] they come forward one at a time to ply their suit.

Their intermediary is Mery Reporte, "the vyce", whose antecedents are succinctly proclaimed by the text:

> "Jupiter: What maner man arte thou? Shewe quyckely!
> Mery Reporte: By God, a poore gentylman dwellyth here by.
> Jupiter: A gentylman? Thy-selfe bryngeth wytnes naye,
> Bothe in thy lyght behavour and araye."[92]

Later, Mery Reporte admits to the Gentylman that he is

> "So full of fansyes, and in so many fyttes,
> So many smale reasons, and in so many wyttes,
> .....I love all thynges new."[93]

Little wonder that Jupiter is reluctant to employ him. Mery Reporte extols his ability to mitigate bad news with merriment, by "mynglynge the mater accordynge to my nature",[94] and pleads the value of "indyfferency" in matters of dispute, so that the god decides to "make the our servaunte". In this respect, he steps straight from the realm of Roman comedy; he has about him the air of Medwall's A and B. Yet he carries within him the legacy of older traditions; of the shrewd Loki in the *Nibelungenlied*, of the dapper Mercury from the classical pantheon, of the doctor in the folk play, all, be it noted, much travelled men. Mery Reporte is a licensed fool, a less cynical Touchstone, an adroit and nimble-witted rogue, who keeps alive the entertainment and underpins the satire. His exchanges with the succession of "sewters" not only give greater depth to their

individual characters but subtly reveal the degree to which each is in thrall to the insidious and varied manifestations of the seven Deadly Sins. As when, for example, he tells the Ranger that

> "I set by your charyte
> As mych, in a maner, as by your honeste
> * * * *
> For I se ye care not who wyn or lese,
> So you may fynde meanys to wyn your fees;"[95]

or enquires of the Water Myller: "Syr, who let you in? Spake ye wyth the porter?"[96] His rebuke of the Gentylwoman is that: "Ye passe them all, both in your owne conceyt and myne". She replies in a manner that proclaims her an all too fallible victim of the tempter's cunning:

> "If we had wether to walke at oure pleasure,
> Our lyves wolde be mery out of measure: /my italics/
> One parte of the day for our apparellynge,
> Another parte for eatynge and drynkynge,
> And all the reste in stretes to be walkynge,
> Or in the house to passe tyme wyth talkynge."[97]

"When serve ye God?" asks Mery Reporte. His tart ripostes and irreverent sallies give a satisfying edge to the play's moral dimension. We come to believe him when he declares, upon the Launder's departure, that:

> "Is not this a swete offyce that I have,
> When every drab shall prove me a knave?
> Every man knoweth not what goddes servyce is,
> Nor I my selfe knew yt not before this."[98]

The play is a delightfully simple lesson in physical geography. If, as seems likely, it was written c. 1527/8, then its lively concern with questions of weather may well have been prompted by the harsh conditions, including torrential rain, which turned them into famine years. Moreover, times of famine call for exceptional qualities on the part of a ruling class. The relationship of the monarch to the subjects of the realm is an

important issue in the interlude. Heywood's political outlook is that of a member of the Thomas More circle. Jupiter is one of Sir Thomas Elyot's "governours", only more so.

> "Gentylman: We, as your subiectes and humble sewters all,
> Accordynge as we here your pleasure is,
> Are presyd to your presens, beynge pryncypall,
> Hed, and governour of all in every place;"[99]

that is, his upbringing and education have equipped him to rule, in judgment to be wise and impartial. He is also "pryncypall, hed...of all in every place", which cannot be said of the Gentylman, the first "sewter", who, on entry, identifies himself with the audience. He is received without demur by Jupiter. What is unreasonable about the Gentylman's request is his bid for clement weather solely to brighten his leisure hours, to speed the chase and make for good hunting. Mery Reporte's "indyfferency" causes him to satirize such selfishness. The Gentylman's first major pronouncement goes, however, unquestioned:

> "Moste myghty prynce, and god of every nacyon,
> Pleasyth your hyghnes to vouchsave the herynge
> Of me, whyche, accordynge to your proclamacyon,
> Doth make apparaunce in way of besechynge,
> Not sole for my selfe, but generally
> For all come of noble and auncyent stock,
> Whych sorte above all doth most thankfully
> Dayly take payne for welth of the comen flocke,
> Wyth dylygent study alway devysynge
> To kepe them in order and unyte,
> In peace to labour the encrees of theyr lyvynge,
> Wherby eche man may prosper in plente,"[100]

a recognition of the need for that 'philarch' class whose allegiance to the reigning dynasty was a cornerstone of the state edifice. Many of the audience would have been of their number. Mery Reporte's merciless ribbing of the Gentylman is Heywood's subtle reminder of the need for integrity as much in private pursuits as in public affairs. And it is

surely no accident that the playmaker's final suppliant is a schoolboy similarly bent upon pleasure, an embryonic "governour". Heywood's entertainment posits the qualities of good leadership: impartiality in judgment, unselfishness and consideration for others, especially for those less happily circumstanced. Paramount, however, is the princple that

> "There is no one craft can preserve man so,
> But by other craftes, of necessyte,
> He must have myche parte of his commodyte."[101]

Interdependence, co-operation and trust make for a strong nation. It is an axiom the author reiterates in The Foure PP:

> "These with all other vertues well marked
> All though they be of sondry kyndes
> Yet be they nat vsed with sondry myndes
> But as god only doth all those moue
> So euery man onely for his loue
> With loue and dred obediently
> Worketh in these vertues vnyformely."[102]

The Play of the Wether is a diverting lesson in political science and physical geography dexterously sighted on schoolboy minds, but with as sharp an eye on presentation at court. Its ideology is firmly rooted in humanist educational principles. I do not believe it "is seemingly a product of Heywood's professional service at court in which he was expected to provide scripts for Chapel boys",[103] if indeed there is any concrete evidence of such a requirement. After all, by 1526, he was only a "pleyer of the virginals",[104] which appointment was not confirmed by warrant until 1528. However, there are good reasons for supposing that he wrote the interlude for St Paul's scholars. In 1523, upon instructions from Henry VIII, Heywood was made a freeman of the City of London:

> "xviij^{o} die Junii anno regis henr. viii^{ui} xv /1523/. John Heywode. Itm. at the contemplacon of the kynges l're John

> Heywode is admytted in to the liberties of this citie paying the olde Haunse."[105]

Presumably, he interested himself in trade or speculation of some sort since, in 1529/30, he was accepted as a member of the Mercer's Company:

> "20 Die Januarii. Dodmer Maier (1529-30) John Heywood Citizen and Stacyoner of London and oon of the kyngs serauntes ys presented by Maister Rauff Warren Maister Wardeyn of the Mercers to this Courte as Comen Mesurer or meter of lynnen Clothes to occupie by hym or his sufficient depute and to doe Right and equally betwene all parties. And also he ys transmuted from the saide craft of Stacyoner unto the mistery of Mercers by thassent of bothe the saide mestares."[106]

He has clearly been assisting at his father-in-law's printing works, which adjoined St Paul's cathedral precinct and lay close by Colet's foundation, whose governors were the Mercers. Presented to the school, the interlude will have been a graceful tribute to benefactors and friends all round. The boys will have understood the stylistic ambience and political thrust more readily than boy choristers, whose general education lagged far behind. Later, St Paul's choir school would develop under the aegis of John Redford and Sebastian Westcott, with both of whom Heywood worked.

There is also circumstantial evidence in favour of the boys of Colet's foundation. The founder's Statutes expressly forbid "disputing at sent Bertilmews whiche is but folish babeling and loss of tyme".[107] But the Acts of Court of St Paul's School for 14 December, 1534, deplore the fact that

> "...the Scolers of the scole haue vsed to go to comē places of Argument at Seint Bartilmewes Saint Laurens and suche other whiche is clerely contrary to the Wille and ordennce of the founder It is ordeynede by this Worsshypfull Assemble that the said Scolers shall no more go to any

> suche place of argument from hensford but to kepe their scole accordyng to thordennce of the founder."[108]

Which suggests that the boys were practised in holding their own in public debate. Prior to his dismissal in 1532, John Ritwise, the Headmaster of St Paul's from 1522, was twice called before the Mercers, in December 1525 and again in 1526, admonished for dereliction of duty towards his charges and warned to show a greater diligence.[109] In 1531, he is threatened with expulsion from his post for further negligence, but is reprieved.[110] The guillotine finally drops in November 1532, when he is "vtterly expelled amoved and putfourth of the same rome of Scole Maistershipp, and neuer hereafter to exercise or meddle in the same".[111] It is impossible to discover the precise nature of Ritwise' negligence, but a plausible explanation might be that he spent more time presenting the boys in plays than in making them parse and construe their lessons. They apparently also indulged in public debate during his tenure of office, contrary to the founder's instructions. Is it, I wonder, sheer coincidence that Ritwise falls foul of his governors during the years framing the composition of Heywood's last five plays? Not to mention the boys' two appearances at court, in 1527 and 1528, already alluded to. If, therefore, Heywood was early associated with the Coletine foundation, it is reasonable to suppose that his dramatic activities were actuated by the known talents of the young performers, by the nature of the audience before whom they performed and by the stage space available.

In The Play of the Wether, Heywood has neatly converted dispute into a swift entertainment alive with theatrical flair learnt from past practice. Yet is is wholly sui generis. He varies pace and rhythm by

juxtaposing passages of dispute, assertion, comic exchange and monologue. Moreover, he provides challenging parts for boy actors, for whom it is clearly written. The work is very rich in didactic material of both a religious and secular nature. The cycle play and interlude elements, in turn indebted to mendicant sermons, provide the unobtrusive groundswell of dogma upon which Heywood's bouyant secular craft joyously rides.

iii) French farce and dispute: A novel outcome

Up to this point, Heywood's plays have been notable for the changes he rings on dramatic dispute. His themes have been courtly, - Wit and Folly, Love, Equity - chosen unerringly for an educated audience. His performers have been boys, certainly in two of the three plays. With The Foure PP, Heywood appears to be breaking new ground, to be making a play whose material, mode of presentation and didactic thrust are not confined to any one kind of actor, performance space or audience. It is, moreover, an exhilarating blend of old and new, the one derived from the indigenous riches of cycle plays and moral interludes, the other from the continental exuberance of French farce. Yet, although it brilliantly exploits the aura and feel of the Gallic form, Heywood peoples his anecdote with English types, whose level of argument is altogether more sophisticated and pointed than their French counterparts. Their coarseness is more polished. The Pardoner's tale of the lady suffering an anal blockage, for all its scatological relish, is deftly shaped and characterised, is, in a word, Chaucerian. Heywood's literacy causes him to tame somewhat the excesses and exuberance of his continental models. To offer a modern analogy in reverse, it is what differentiates

Clochemerle from the Ealing comedies. Heywood's sense of enjoyment of and relish for life, his empathy with people from all strata of society enabled him quickly to grasp the potential impact and appeal of French farce as popular entertainment. Professional interluders must have enjoyed themselves in The Foure PP, but how much more challenging must it have been for the boys for whom it was probably written, especially since the work's style is no sudden phenomenon.

Heywood's earlier plays reflect his undoubted acquaintance with the Gallic farces. A Play of Love incorporates the Vice's sermon joyeux on sexual duplicity and daringly allows his pyrotechnic eruption upon the scene of serious debate, while The Play of the Wether has a farcical master of ceremonies in Mery Reporte (despite his debt to Roman comedy) and is surely the first comedy of ordinary folk in the English dramatic repertoire. Did the boy actors already have perhaps more than a nodding acquaintance with the form of French farce? There is sufficient evidence to suggest that such farces were not unknown at the English court, which would strengthen the belief that not only were the St Paul's boys regular performers at court but their theatrical skills were rather more eclectic and developed than at first sight. If, as I believe, The Foure PP is a play made for either kind of performer, amateur or professional, then Heywood is seemingly the first playmaker to have grasped the innovative possibilities of French farce as a means both of extending the boys' technical skills and of providing uncontroversial dramatic vehicles for peripatetic interluders.

It should not be forgotten that Henry VII invaded England from France,

where he resided in exile. In 1483, he had spent some time in Paris where, as a young man, he must surely have revelled in the pungent sotties and farces of the Clercs de la Basoche and the Enfants sans Souci. Certainly, in 1494 and again in 1495, Treasurer Heron's Accounts of the Chamber record the visits of French players:

> "1484: January 6 - Item to the Frenche pleyers for a rewarde xx^{s}
> 1495: January 4 - Item to the Frenshe pleyers in rewarde xl^{s}" 112

The season is, appropriately, that of the Feast of Fools. The Scottish Exchequer Rolls for the year 1489/90 include a payment to French players performing before James IV at Dundee:

> "Item, on Fryda the xxiij Julij in Dunde to the king to gif the Franschemen that playt....xx unicornis xviij^{li}"113

Given the pattern of contemporary troupe movements, it is tempting to infer that the French players were unlikely to have undertaken what must have been an expensive cross-Channel trip without calling also at other receptive venues as, for example, the court of Henry VII. Heron's accounts mention no further visits, which need not mean that French players ceased to visit. In 1520/1, for example, the Duke of Buckingham's cofferer's accounts record payments made to a troupe of French players who visited his seat at Christmas. They included two women and presented "the passion of oure lorde".[114]

Traceable to Henry VII's period of exile are the French cultural influences, Burgundian especially, which pervade his court. I believe those attendant at court must have been reasonably familiar with French sotties and farces. English humanists, many of whom travelled extensively, will in any case have encountered them at some point in their

travels. Erasmus' Encomium Morae is more than just an exhilarating intellectual conceit on behalf of and dedicated to a beloved friend; it is also a coruscating mock sermon delivered by Folly which juggles with accepted beliefs and proceeds to stand them on their heads. Henry VIII's adventures on French soil in the pursuit of 'la gloire' will have brought into contact with French culture all those who accompanied the expeditionary forces. Shakespeare certainly thought so. When Henry VIII and his companions break in upon Wolsey's revels in Henry VIII, they are disguised as French shepherds. The Cardinal bids the Lord Chamberlain: "Go, give 'em welcome; you can speak the French tongue". He ushers them in explaining that they have left "their flocks and, under your fair conduct, /Crave leave to view these ladies and entreat /An hour of revels with 'em", (I, iv, 57 & 70-2). The importance of this contact may be more firmly gleaned from a letter of Bishop Jean du Bellay, French Ambassador in England, to Montmerency, dated January 1, 1529:

> "I think Wolsey would not be well pleased if I did not tell you of his causing farces to be played in French, with great display, saying, in conclusion, that he does not wish anything to be here which is not French in deed and word."[115]

Heywood undoubtedly attended some of these functions, may even have proffered or been asked to advise upon suitable works for performance.

In an excellent survey of Heywood's indebtedness to the genre, Ian Maxwell has laid out its prime ingredients.[116] French farce, while often satiric, aims to elicit laughter rather than pose as genuine criticism. It is contemporary in its observations, yet not averse to exaggeration:

> "La farce est un petit tableau d'une scène triviale de la vie journalière; un tableau dont les traits sont grossis et poussés à la caricature, mais dont l'intention est toutefois de copier, en l'exagérant, pour la rendre plus sensible."[117]

It originates in the Feast of Fools, in the plays and satiric entertainments of the Parisian lawyers (basochiens), students and strolling mountebanks.[118] When presented more physically, the form is closer to masquerade in which is mirrored "manners in the mass and not in the particular".[119] The monologue or sermon joyeux is often a highlight of farce. Spoken in character, it is a free discourse ranging over a wide spectrum of subject matter, a parody prefaced by a text and developed under set heads. All three tales in The Foure PP are simplified sermons upon the nature of womankind. A variant introduces a heckler to the monologuist, thereby creating un sermon à deux personnages, which exactly describes Heywood's The Pardoner and the Frere, whose closing moments, as frequently in French farce, demonstrate how "the lowly inherit the earth, and superior intruders get short shrift",[120] even though in this instance the latter represent the ostensible forces of sanctity. The French Morality, which does not necessarily deploy abstract figures, subsumes all the foregoing elements to become a didactic onslaught carried upon a strong story line, replete with lively pictures of social types, satiric verve, which could become sheerly sensational, so that manner overwhelmed matter. Nonetheless, "with its imposing array of persons, its power to turn symbol into spectacle and sermon into sensationalism, it could achieve a kind of satiric pageant which lay beyond the scope of farce and sottie".[121]

The matter of French farce is multifarious, though among prime targets are the law, - members of the Basoche had strong links with the populace,

unlike the Inns of Court, and most known writers were basochiens - the Church, quacks (les medecins), military adventurers, - forefathers of Il Capitano - shopkeepers and market people. Sex, as ever, is a fruitful topic, and women are a central preoccupation, viewed almost invariably through mysogynistic lenses. The mischances of marriage - "On m'a mis en mesnage, /On m'a mis en tourment". (Audin) - and adultery are mined for all they are worth. French farce is domestic and down-to-earth; "it is peopled by small tradesmen, farmers, servants, with their ministers and parasites", who "naturally determine its atmosphere and outlook"[122] and account for the "petit tableau d'une scène triviale de la vie journalière".

While it is dangerous to generalise about the art of French farce, it is possible to observe certain tendencies such as, for example, the care to attain a structural balance. The farceur steers his chosen incident towards a point at which he hopes talk and action will unite to achieve a resolution. Farces may be moulded to a maxim or woven around an object, as in the Farce Nouvelle et fort joyeux du Pasté[123] upon which Johan Johan is closely modelled.[124] They move at great speed: there is seldom a didactic prologue to launch the piece, as Mercy's call to virtue in Mankynde; the verse, characterised by considerable metrical freedom, is light in movement and resilient in exchanges, making much use of double meanings, punning, verbal equivocation, all to provide uplift and pace. Indeed, tempo and rhythm are crucial. Yoked to a single end, these divers aims and devices can constitute a dazzling unity of contrasts. As Ian Maxwell observes:

> "Though one cannot reduce the craft of the farce-writers to a formula, their sense of symmetry is strong, and is not the

> less striking in that it often struggles to very imperfect expression in slapdash work."[125]

The Foure PP is a play of dispute, but conducted among the lower echelons of society. The more formal exchanges of A Play of Love are replaced by the racier banter and spurious dignity of the less exalted. The Palmer's pie utterances give to his piety a hollow ring. The Pardoner is a pie of another colour, a shifty rogue living off the seamier activities of the established church. These two religious opportunists are joined by the Potycary, a scabrous cynic whose role in the salvation of souls is all too tenuous:

> "No soule ye knowe entreth heuen gate
> Tyll from the bodye he be separate
> And whome haue ye knowen dye ho[ne] stlye
> Without helpe of the potycary."[126]

These three, then, are the disputants. Their determining master is a Pedler who, like Autolycus, "In euery tryfull must be a medler/ Specyally in womens tryflynges";[127] who succinctly points his affinity to the wrangling trio:

> "Potycary: I prayse your fortune and your wyt
> That can dyrecte you so discretely
> To plante you in this company
> Thou palmer and thou a pardoner
> I a potycary
>
> Pedler: And I a pedler
>
> Potycary: Nowe on my fayth full well watched
> W[h]ere the deuyll were we foure hatched
>
> Pedler: That maketh no mater syns we be matched."[128]

The play debates man's spiritual and material welfare in this world, with his acts as qualitative staging posts along the route to heaven. Heywood advises against the judging of others; he extols instead the need for co-operation in all matters.

The Foure PP has been described as having "a slow and pointless beginning, a feeble ending, and no unity"; it is "wandering, discursive and disorganised, as if the writer could not decide where to begin...Four men stand before the audience and tell stories, depending for their effect upon wit alone, and not upon dramatic movement. They are speakers, not actors, for they have nothing to do".[129] Another commentator talks of "only four characters who do nothing but sit and talk"[130] - but what talk! Both views fail to trace the play's traditional roots, which explain the characterisation and mode of acting; and to recognise the novel elements which give the piece its formal unity and dictate its performance style. The four protagonists are easily identified as frequenters of the tavern, even the Palmer. "Is here nothynge for my father Palmer?" asks the Pedler, hawking his wares.

> "Have ye nat a wanton in a corner
> For your walkyng to holy places."[131]

They step straight out of the world of the mendicants' sermons, their ancestors have passed across the pages of Langland and Chaucer, have strutted upon the stages of pageant plays, have accrued to themselves allegorical notoriety of a dubious nature in the interludes of pre-Reformation playmakers. Moreover, the players of interludes had themselves served their varied apprenticeships amid the hurly-burly of trestle stages at fairs, in market-places, liveried halls, narrow streets and taverns, each a solo performer honing and refining a distinctive skill to help bring home the bacon. Having come together in small groups of four men and a boy, the actors' pooled experience must have enabled them instantly to grasp the inspiration of Heywood's "Foure PP"; their practical skills will have given dramatic life to the roles they assumed. They were able to

move with a meaningful ease and familiarity between the tables of banqueting halls, vividly projecting their impersonations with a seasoned expertise.

However, while an obsessive concern for such things as five-act structure may well find the piece wanting, its formal principles are based upon other criteria. The central argument provides a firm through-line, while dramatic contrast is achieved by the interplay of character and point of view allied to a farcical ambience which is borrowed from French farce. The cross-Channel element, which Heywood appears to have been the first to introduce into the playmaking of the period, is exploited within an English setting. Formally, The Foure PP achieves a structural balance by the deft juxtaposing of incidents, both active and verbal, which reach a satisfying resolution in the outcome of the dispute, whose theme is itself the nub around which events are woven. Gallic skills are grafted upon English stock to produce not a grotesque hybrid but a uniquely novel artefact in full flower.

The Foure PP is a remarkable achievement, in which Heywood successfully combines correspondent elements from contrasting dramatic traditions and transforms them into a novel idiom, whose currency, but for the advent of religious dissension, would have enjoyed a wider circulation. For Heywood's play constitutes the ideal form for professional troupes. Its material is non-controversial yet central to the lives of the majority of the population; its characters and tone of voice are distinctively English; in choosing the form of dramatised disputation, he gives himself the freedom to digress within a firm structure. And yet, when his probable

influence finally bears fruit, it is in a university play, Gammer Gurton's Needle, and in the play Ralph Roister Doister, made by its author, Nicholas Udall, specifically for boy actors. Both plays deploy large casts. It was the drama in education that benefitted from Heywood's efforts. The amateurs prospered, while the professionals, as we shall see (Chapter V), were led reluctantly along a more parlous path away from the means of establishing a viable status for themselves with reasonable financial security. The education in drama was turned, once again, to wholly didactic ends and given a dangerous edge by polemical imperatives. The professionals were recruited to fight for a cause and, hence, to face the hazards of dissent. The amateurs, meanwhile, became the preferred entertainers of the court. Ironically, The Foure PP is a play that could successfully have been played (it probably was) by both classes of performers. However, Heywood seems to have grown more interested in professional skills.

iv) French farce and the makings of the Professional play

The Pardoner and the Frere and Johan Johan are probably the last plays in the surviving canon as accepted. They could conceivably have grown out of performances of their French prototypes at either Wolsey's or the sovereign's courts. Both pieces are tightly constructed farces modelled closely upon the originals, almost as if their author was catering for current cultural appetites. Technically, The Pardoner and the Frere offers several challenges to its actors. It opens with the Frere's sermon, follows it with the Pardoner's tout's discourse, then

"shall the frere begyn his sermon and euyn at the same tyme the pardoner begyneth also to shew and speke of his bullys and auctorytes com from Rome".[132] They come to blows and are interrupted by Neybour Prat and the Parson, who berates the scrapping duo:

> "Holde your handes! a vengeaunce on ye bothe two!
> That ever ye came hyther to make this ado
> To polute my chyrche, a myschyefe on you lyght."[133]

The Frere and the Pardoner turn upon their common enemy, trounce them thoroughly and depart - "Than adew, to the devyll, tyll we come agayn". The matter is small, the piece short; its success depends entirely upon the actors' skills.

T W Craik is a mite ungenerous when, rounding off his detailed comparison of Farce du Pasté and Johan Johan, he warns that "we must now modify the accepted theory that Heywood's borrowings were always trifling and that his completed work is invariably distinctive and original",[134] for, however closely Heywood has copied his model, the tone is wholly English - he does not merely translate but recreates. The three protagonists of Johan Johan are recognisably indigenous types. The joke is more subtly unfolded. Johan's moral outrage packed into sibilant asides is very funny; Tyb's preparation of the repast, goading her husband to set up the table with bread, ale and candles is a delicious parody of the routines preliminary to the celebration of Mass, Sir Johan's last supper - though we cannot be sure it is! - being an altogether more ribald affair. Heywood's farce is no less taut satirically than its original, but he has cast it in a robust vernacular and created characters whose jealousy and lechery are English in behaviour. The joke is juicier for being formally

more controlled. I think it more likely that both interludes were made for professionals, whose repertoire of acting skills could more effortlessly provoke uninhibited hilarity among the spectators and bring emblematic weight to the author's moral strictures. Admittedly, The Pardoner and the Frere is well within the capacities of boy actors, though the comic business necessary to bring alive the fights, the presentation and timing of the overlapping dialogue would have benefitted from the professional touch. Johan Johan, however, is not only demanding in the creation of character but its scurrility would not readily have recommended it to those entrusted with the moral upbringing of the young. To deplore the moral laxity of clergy before children is one thing; to recreate it dramatically before their eyes is quite another. Sir Thomas Elyot's comment that the "base stuffe" of comedies "be undoubtedly a picture or as it were a mirror of man's life, wherein evil is not taught but discovered"[135] is being applied to the writers of a classical age. I wonder if he would have felt quite the same about Johan Johan. In most respects, The Foure PP is the greater achievement, for it effectively combines the traditional and novel sources of Heywood's art. In doing so, it exemplifies his importance for the evolution of drama in England.

v) Conclusion

Witty and Witless, A Play of Love and The Play of the Wether comprise a steady development of the disputatio form; they demonstrate how argument may be metamorphosed into dramatic action. The means are to be found amid the constituents of traditional dramatic practice, and in ideas derived from the classical inheritance of a growing humanism and out of

the cultural exchange made possible by England's re-entry upon the European scene under the early Tudors. Whereas before only the literate had enjoyed a more universal education by travelling to France and Italy to study for their various degrees, now men of humbler origin newly placed among or associated with the "governours" could undergo an artistic and cultural education, whose effects are to be seen in Heywood's entertainments and which presumably enriched the art of John English and his fellow actors. Heywood's trio of dispute plays are, moreover, written for schoolboys whose curriculum equipped them ideally to understand both the text and the means to give it life; namely, the comedia erudita traits of Mery Reporte; the romantic assumptions underlying the debate in A Play of Love, as also the vice's cycle-play diablerie; the import of the licensed and the natural fool, earlier epitomised, for example, by Fansy and Folye in Skelton's Magnyfycence, which is the kernel of the dispute in Witty and Witless. Heywood crafted plays whose didacticism was not bedevilled by religious imperatives, though they retained a firmly traditional - in the Catholic sense - moral stance while seemingly being given up wholly to entertaining.

The impact of French farce upon his quick mind led to The Foure PP, an interlude in which, while he pursues his liking for debate, he has found a dramatic means of bringing debate into the market-place, the inn and the guildhall. The novel means had much in common with Cycle-play practice - the Secunda Pastorum of Towneley bears a striking kinship to Gallic farce - and re-introduced to the drama the act of storytelling. Three representative English commoners meet up by chance on the road to

their several destinations. They extol and argue about the merits of their respective pursuits but, failing to accommodate their prejudices, they call upon a passing pedler to set a task by which their hierarchical status may be determined. He does so. There is an exchange of sour grapes at the outcome before they continue upon their separate paths. The story of The Foure PP is no less dramatic than such Brechtian Lehrstücke as He Who says 'Yes' and The Measures Taken, both of which are essentially simple narratives in which a group of individuals are brought together to debate an issue. The inspired fusion of content and form raises them to the level of high art. So it is with The Foure PP.

In The Pardoner and the Frere and Johan Johan, Heywood resumes his rediscovery of narrative. The former, which is rougher and more knock-about, dispenses with dispute at any meaningful level and concentrates upon the rough and tumble of common folk at odds. Johan Johan, however, is a minor masterpiece of storytelling, characterisation, stagecraft and subtly deployed symbol, which is pure entertainment of a very high order but which manages to affect a moral stance without resorting to propaganda or preaching. Therein lies its importance within Heywood's output. Heywood, a literate and educated man, had created what was no less than the first popular professional entertainment, a play for all seasons and all persons. Johan Johan tells a story through three closely-observed characters. Its theme of clerical venality must have made it unexceptional even to the Protestant reformers; it is rewarding to play; and it is beautifully crafted, the moments of tension and release being delicately gauged to capture and hold the audience's attention, while the ambiguous ending sends them away in an amused yet speculative state of

mind. No wonder Heywood was able to survive the reigns of four Tudor monarchs, very different in their religious outlooks, before being forced, finally, into exile.

The importance of Heywood is that he advances the drama firmly into the secular field. The content of his plays owes much to the mendicant inheritance and the drama that emerged from it. However, he uses exempla and anecdotes as the weapons of dramatised dispute, thus skilfully accommodating them within a theatrical form. They have been transformed, moreover, from sermons morals into sermons joyeux. Their value as entertainment is paramount. His characters share the same origins but are now viewed as members of a changed but evolving social order. The salvation of their souls has become a less pressing issue than their exercise of reason, their contribution to the common weal. Johan Johan represents the metamorphosis of sermon into drama pure and simple, of admonition into sheer entertainment. Equally striking is Heywood's conversion of an academic form into a popular mode. His apparent predilection is for a smaller scale popular drama. And yet he was a servant of the court, where his plays are most likely to have been staged. I surmise that he had close connections with St Paul's school, whose humanist bias linked its fortunes to the new professional classes, the men most likely to succeed. It may well be that the altered circumstances of belief terminated Heywood's aspirations as a playmaker. Political pressures and religious imperatives pressed interluders into the cause of propaganda and polemic. Heywood was thus deprived of the means to develop his art, whose dramatic tendency was towards the comedy of the everyday, as

opposed to the more elaborate presentations of the court.

Although Heywood apparently ceased to write plays, he continued to work with children for over twenty years. In March 1538, he was paid for "playing an interlude with his children before my lady grace",[136] the Princess Mary, while in February 1539, Thomas Cromwell called upon the playmaker's services:

> "Payèd to the paynter that made all the hobby horses and the other things ther belonging, £33. 17. 6. Heywoode. The same daye payed to him for his cookes and other necessaries layed out £6. 10. 5. Mrs. Vaughn. The same day payed to her for certayne things bought of her for the maskes £6. 7. 6. The 22nd of the same moneth payed to the bargeman that carried Heywood's maske to the courte and home again, 16/8."[137]

Since "Chris. Myloner" was paid "for the stuf of the maske of king arturs nights £10. 17. 11."[138] the subject may have revolved around King Arthur, whose especial significance in the early sixteenth century[139] would explain why the "maske" was subsequently ferried to court on February 22. In the following reign, Heywood presented twelve boy actors before Edward VI at Easter and on Mayday, 1553.[140] Finally, he was associated with a staging, on 13 February, 1552, before the Princess Elizabeth during her residence at Hatfield:

> "Paid in rewarde to the Kinges Maiestes drom̄er and phiphe the xiijth of February, xx.s.; Mr. Heywoodde, xxx.s.; and to Sebastian /Westcott, presumably/, towards the charge of the children with the carriage of the plaiers garments, iiij.li. xix.s.
> In thole as by warraunte appereth vij.li. ix.s."[141]

and with another before her, in August 1559, shortly after she had become queen - "...and at nyght the Quen...and a play of the chyldern of Powlles and ther master Se/bastian/, master Phelypes, and master Haywod".[142] Sebastian Westcott was choirmaster to the boys of the Cathedral school.

His predecessor, and friend, had been John Redford, the author of Wit and Science. Had Heywood any connection with him? And, if so, in what capacity?

3. John Redford: The Key to Dramatic Evolution

John Redford, playmaker, poet, musician and composer, lived the mature years of his life during the reign of Henry VIII. His importance to the evolution of drama is crucial, for his sole extant play, Wit and Science, holds the key to the dilemma posed by the Reformation in England. The author of Godly Queene Hester had reinstated narrative and spectacle, had employed music more ambitiously, but had done so in the service of satire and thereby provided a blueprint for future polemicists - witness John Bale's King Johan and the Catholic Respublica. John Heywood had provided anecdotal diversions encouraged by the ambient delight in debate. He was fortunate in having at his disposal playing spaces at court and boy actors to perform his pieces. He forged an individual drama of down-to-earth comedy, rewarding to play and enjoyable to watch, whose language evolved from the formal arguments of dispute via the colloquial exchanges reminiscent of much schoolboy learning to the sharp, sly and ready wit of ordinary folk. However, he was unable or chose not to pursue his talent, though one must presume that his insights and skills were available to those with whom he subsequently worked. John Redford was among them, though the evidence is largely circumstantial.

Wit and Science[143] is of paramount importance to an understanding of the development of Tudor drama. Shakespeare and his fellows owed rather more to the career of an Henrician composer-playmaker than they were fully

aware of or contemporary researchers in the field care to acknowledge. It becomes important, therefore, to assess that debt. I shall have something to say of Redford's career and friends, of the circles within which he moved; of the provenance, auspices and timely originality of his only surviving play. Finally, I shall suggest how his legacy came to be transmitted to a future generation. The play is a landmark, the first important step toward that ascendancy of child actors on the Tudor stage which compelled the professionals to fight back for survival.

What little is known of John Redford is soon set down. He was born c. 1486 and was trained in the choir of St Paul's Cathedral. He became a Vicar-Choral, was organist of St Paul's from 1525[144] and, about 1534, was appointed Almoner and Master of the choristers.[145] The declaration of allegiance to Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn made by the Sub-Dean and Canons of St Paul's on 20 June, 1534, carries his signature. It is a document which contains the assertion that "the Bishop of Rome has no authority in this Kingdom". Redford is thus acknowledging the Act of Supremacy. Three years later, he directed a grand Te Deum in St Paul's on 13 October to honour the birth of Prince Edward.[146] Such are the bare bones of his career.

Redford's association with Heywood may be gleaned from miscellaneous clues, which will involve some repetition and a modest digression. I return to Heywood's "playing an interlude with his children before my lady grace", the Princess Mary, in March 1538. Who were these children? And where, on this occasion, were they performing? A likely venue is suggested by a letter of 1525 to Cardinal Wolsey from the Council for the Household

of the Lady Mary, in which they seek advice, among other matters, upon the staging of seasonal drama for the ten year old princess:

> "Please it youre grace for the great repaire of straungers supposed unto the Pryncesse honorable household this solempne fest of Cristmas, We humbly beseche the same to let us knowe youre gracious pleasure concernyng aswell... whither we shall appoynte any Lord of Mysrule for the said honorable householde, provide for enterluds, disgy-synges, or playes in the said fest, or for bankett on twelf nyght...etc."[147]

By 1538, the pattern and mode of entertainment had presumably become well established.

As to the children, I have already rehearsed the reasons and offered some evidence for thinking Heywood was closely associated with Colet's foundation of St Paul's. Because his plays skilfully accomodate aspects of popular culture with those of an educated elite, players with a sound command of dispute and of farcical comedy, of humanist criteria for the good life, and who were still in touch with the roots of their own culture, would have made ideal interpreters of his works. The scholars of St Paul's were chosen from all walks of life, as the Statutes make clear. The school was open to "Children of all nacions and countres indifferently to the Noumber of a cliij accordyng to the noumber of the setys in the scole". To gain a place, the only qualifications required of a boy were that he "canne the cathechyzon, and also that he can rede and wryte competently, elles let hym not be admitted in no wyse".[148] They were to be taught "all way in good litterature both laten and greke, and good auctors suych as haue the veray Romayne eliquence joyned withe wisdome specially Cristyn auctors that wrote theyre wysdome with

clene and chast laten other in verse or in prose".[149] Erasmus, in his brief life of Colet, makes a further revealing statement that:

> "The English nation has poets who have done among their own countrymen what Petrarch and Dante have done in Italy. And by the study of their writings he /Colet/ perfected his style; preparing himself, even at this date, for preaching the gospel."[150]

These "poets" - Langland, Gower and Chaucer in all likelihood - might also, therefore, have had a place on the curriculum.

The grammar school boys were also compelled "euery Chyldermasse day (to) come the paulis Church and here the Chylde Bisshoppis sermon and after be at the hye masse and eche of them offer a j^{d} to the Childe bisshopp and with theme the Maisters and surveyors of the schole".[151] On the other hand, St Paul's Cathedral Statutes left the almoner free to educate choristers himself or to send them elsewhere. Colet's foundation was naturally preferred, "and the almoners claimed that they /the choristers/ had a right to admission without fees".[152] So, by the time Heywood's plays came to be performed between 1525 and 1529, the choir and grammar school boys were presumably mixing freely and, possibly, participating jointly in dramatic activities. The choirboys did not, I think, take part in the public performances previously alluded to. However, they could successfully have carried roles in Heywood's second three plays whose earthy and indigenous humour would have been well within their capacities. Thus the two Johns, Redford and Heywood, may well have collaborated early in the staging of plays and so have laid the grounds of a lasting friendship. What is more, as a practising musician himself, Heywood must surely have been aware of the other's reputation as a leading instrumental composer of the day, as is indirectly confirmed by the inscription on the first flyleaf of the famous Mulliner Book

(Add. MS. 30513):

"Sum liber thomae Mullineri
iohanne heywoode teste."

It would seem that Mulliner was a pupil of Heywood's, so his inclusion of a large proportion of Redford's best work as a composer is wholly understandable, since the pieces selected presumably enjoyed the imprimatur of his teacher.[153] One final point, to round off the present argument. Redford's play, Wit and Science, is preserved in a British Library manuscript (Add. MS. 15233) which, in addition to music, poems and fragments of two other interludes ascribed to him, also contains "more of Heywood's minor verse than exists elsewhere".[154] Indeed, the Malone Society editors believe: "It seems probable that the manuscript was originally intended to contain the work of a group of friends connected in one way or another with John Redford's choir school at St Paul's, and that it is not until the inclusion of works by Edwards and Gascoigne, who are of a later generation than the other contributors, that the original purpose was abandoned".[155] To revert once more, therefore, to the question, which children performed before the Princess Mary in 1538, I would now answer: a group of boys selected for their skills and as required from both the Paul's establishments. It should come as no surprise, therefore, that 1539/40 may well prove to be the year when Redford wrote Wit and Science. Patterns begin to emerge.

These facts lend greater credibility to a number of important conjectures about Redford, the playmaker. First, that his charges, in attending the adjacent foundation, took part in dramatic activities.

Secondly, that he himself collaborated with and almost certainly befriended Heywood, the inspiration behind and the probable director of the interludes presented. Redford must have observed closely both their form and content, and noted how adeptly they were tailored to the talents of boy actors. If the plays were staged at court, perhaps he tried to relate their subject matter to the preferred taste of the monarch and his entourage. Thirdly, as Heywood's friend and as a leading musician in his own right, he will have attended other court entertainments and so have become familiar with masques and disguisings. With their luxurious (and luxuriant) settings and costumes, the endless dancing and music-making, the emblematic stage pictures peopled by figures of classical and allegorical persuasion, the prologues and epilogues that posed and finally concluded the ideas enshrined within the entertainment,[156] they must all have lodged within his mind. For in the heyday of Wolsey, as the young king Henry VIII rioted through his "salad days" in pursuit of 'la gloire', the proliferation and frequency of spectacle and pageantry were breath-taking. Intelligent men must have been impressed yet sceptical, perhaps, of the import; men such as Sir Thomas More and his circle of friends. His execution, on 6 July, 1535, must have seemed a confirmation to them of that bankruptcy in leadership which no amount of panoply could ultimately disguise. Redford may well have thought the same. Influenced by them he certainly was, although his association with the grammar school must already have alerted him to the principles that shaped their beliefs and imbued their lives with faith, vigour and commitment. Wit and Science stands testament to those beliefs, and to

it we must now turn.

Sir Thomas More's execution also made a deep impression on the wider world. William Roper, his son-in-law, recounts the reaction of Charles V, who:

> "...sent for Sir Thomas Elliot, our english Embassadour, and said vnto him: 'My Lord Embassador, we vnderstand that the Kinge, your master, hath put his faithfull seruaunt and grave, wise Councelour, Sir Thomas More, to deathe...if we had bine maister of suche a servante,... we wold rather haue lost the best city of our dominions than haue lost such a worthy councellour.' Which matter was by the same Sir Thomas Elliot to myself, to my wife, to maister Clement and his wife, to master John Haywood and his wife, and /vnto/ diuers other his Freinds accordingly reported."[157]

That same ambassador had already written a remarkable treatise entitled Book named The Governor,[158] first published in 1531, upon the virtues essential in members of a ruling class. Part I is a precise and carefully devised system of education to promote the attainment of those virtues. Elyot believes unequivocally in an all-powerful monarch dedicated to the welfare of the "public weal". However, the king cannot rule effectively without the aid of governors, whose role is that of the executive arm. To prepare them, as children, for their task, he advocates a thorough grounding in Latin and Greek allied to a comprehensive study of the standard classical authors. To temper the strenuous pursuit of learning, he recommends recreational pursuits which, while they give delight and relax the spirit, also develop the mind and the body. Football is, therefore, condemned, "wherein is nothing but beastly fury and extreme violence, whereof proceedeth hurt, and consequently rancour and malice do remain with them that be wounded; wherefore it is to be

put in perpetual silence."[159]

Elyot's educational ideas reverberate powerfully throughout Wit and Science. The story is simple. Wyt, son of Nature, woos Science, daughter of Reson and Experience. To gain her hand, he must successfully complete his schooling, that is, scale Mount Parnassus,

> "which mowntayne as old auctors dyscus
> who attaynth ones/ to sleepe on that mownt
> ladye science/ his owne he may cownt."[160]

Despite the advice of Instruccion, lent him as a companion by Reson, he falls victim first to Tedyousnes, then to Idlenes, for

> "when wytes stand so in ther owne conceite
> best let them go tyll pryde at hys heyghte
> turne & caste them downe hedlong agayne."[161]

That is the first half of the text to which the play is exemplum. However, chastised by Shame, Wyt resumes the ascent determined, this time, to overcome Tedyousnes "w^{t} no less polycye wrowght then strenghth."[162] His success in combat wins his betrothal to Science, though her mother, Experience, warns him against abuse of his future wife's life-enhancing dowry. Wyt, in reply, completes the text when he acknowledges that

> ".....to abuse her
> I brede myne owne sorow/ & well to vse her
> I encrece my Ioy/"[163]

The cultivation of intelligence in the pursuit of knowledge, which smooths the path to virtue, is, then, the tale's central metaphor.

Professor Wickham has dealt fully and brilliantly with the wide-ranging use of device in pre-Shakespearean drama.[164] In casting his eye over Wit and Science, he sums up matters as follows:

> "To dramatize this story Redford employs a device constructed from three principal 'figures' - the mock death and resurrection of the Mummers' Play, a startling change of name and clothes, and a public whipping - and four minor ones - a gown, a mirror, a miniature and a sword."[165]

To take for a moment the mirror. It is "a glas of Reson" given to Wyt by Reson "in remembrance of reson...wherein behowlde yee youre sealfe to youre selfe".[166] Later, Ophelia will echo similar sentiments as she describes Hamlet to her father, just as Hamlet himself develops the idea in his speech to the First Player. In the central episode of Wit and Science, Wyt, having fallen asleep in Idlenes' lap, is transformed from scholar to fool when she first blacks his face - "well whyle he sleepth in Idlenes lappe/ idlenes marke on hym shall I clappe"[167] - then garbs him in the coat of Ingnorance. The degree of change is characterised by Science, whom he woos upon awakening unaware of his bizarre appearance.

> "/I take ye for no naturall foole
> browght vp a mong the innocentes scoole
> but for a nawghty vycious foole
> browght vp /among t/
> wyth Idellnes in her scoole."[168]

she pronounces tartly before departure. He rails after her. Left alone, Wyt consults "the glas of Reson", to be appalled by the image that confronts him. He peers into the faces of the audience - an inspired touch - but finds

> "all fayre & cleere they evry chone
> & I by the mas a foole alone."[169]

Reason is a mirror in which is reflected a man's nature as it evolves. A reasonable man, therefore, takes note of the flaws and virtues of his nature and, at all times, will strive to temper it to a purposive mean. The spectators to Wyt's fall reflect his folly, his failure as a

prospective governor. Redford here teaches his audience by flattery as they watch his play. Art reflects the imperatives of social responsibilty and individual rectitude.

Elyot makes the selfsame point in defending poets and the writers of classical comedies against those critics who charged them with "incitation to lechery".

> "First, comedies, which they suppose to be a doctrinal of ribaldry, they be undoubtedly a picture or as it were a mirror of man's life, wherein evil is not taught but discovered...Sembably remembering the wisdom, advertisements, counsels, dissuasion from vice, and other profitable sentences most eloquently and familiarly shown in those comedies, undoubtedly there shall be no little fruit out of them gathered."

Elyot cannot resist adding:

> "And if the vices in them expressed should be cause that minds of the readers should be corrupted, then by the same argument not only interludes in English, but also sermons, wherein some vice is declared, should be to the beholders and hearers like occasion to increase sinners."[170]

The fabric of Wit and Science is shot through with the ideals of the Book named The Governor. Early in Book I, Elyot confesses that, since "to write of the office or duty of a sovereign governor or prince far exceedeth the compass of my learning, Holy Scripture affirming that the hearts of princes be in God's own hands and disposition, I will therefore keep my pen within the space that is described to me by the three noble masters, reason, learning and experience".[171] In Redford's play they become father, daughter and mother respectively, the family Wyt seeks to enter by marriage. In the course of his quest, he will need to vanquish Tedyousness and combat Idlenes. He is warned against confronting the former without

"a token frpm ladye science wherbye
hope of her favor may spryng/ & therbye
comforte whych is the weapon dowteles
that must serve youe agaynst tedyousnes."[172]

Wyt is too impatient and headlong to await it and, as a result, he is powerless to subdue his foe. Later, having expiated his folly and armed with the sword, Comfort, he will triumph. Both episodes are chivalric and martial in character, with overtones of tilting and tournaments. In the first encounter, Redford reinforces the images by colouring the episode with the combative features, albeit comic, of the Mummers' Play. The comedy playfully underlines the seriousness of intent, namely, that fighting and war are not lightly undertaken and certainly not in a fit of romantic or heroic passion. Elyot advocates the study of Homer (and Virgil) precisely because "in his books be contained and most perfectly expressed, not only the documents material and discipline of arms, but also incomparable wisdom and instructions for politic governance of people".[173] Governors should be not merely skilled and disciplined in arms, but be so in the defense of their country. Such an obligation requires a cool head. Wyt is a governor in the making; "polycye" and a level head are called for in confrontations with his enemies. As regards his present adversaries, Elyot, quoting Ovid, would advise:

"Therefore, if thou yet by counsel are recuperable,
Flee thou from idleness and alway be stable,"

for idleness "is an omission of all honest exercise".[174] Redford's hero scorns such advice to become, instead, one of those who, "vanquished by tediousness, either do abandon the laws and unaware of their friends do give them to gaming and other (as I may say) idle

pursuits now called pastimes".[175]

Elyot is equally concerned that children should not be

> "...fatigued with continual study or learning, wherewith the delicate and tender wit may be dulled and oppressed; but that there may be therewith interlaced and mixed some pleasant learning and exercise, as playing on instruments of music, which moderately used and without diminution of honour, that is to say without wanton countenance and dissolute gesture, is not to be contemned."[176]

Moreover, "it is to be considered that continual study without some manner of exercise shortly exhausteth the spirits vital and hindereth natural decoction and digesting", for "by exercise...the health of a man is to be preserved".[177] To this end, Elyot recommends wrestling, running, swimming, riding, hunting, hawking and, most interestingly, dancing; to which he devotes four full chapters of Book I.

Wit and Science is rich in music. T W Craik comments that: "Some effort has been made in this play to introduce more music than the action in itself requires, and to display the talents of the musicians",[178] at which latter Elyot would not demur. However, the music grows naturally out of the needs of the drama. The first song, delivered by Cumfort, Quycknes and Strenght, encompasses both the resurrection of Wyt, which thereby points up the parallel with the Mummers' Play, and, more importantly, introduces Honest Recreation, whose restorative properties furnish the main burden of the song. She is uniquely named within the canon of pre-Shakespearean interludes, and originates within the pages of Sir Thomas Elyot's masterpiece - "...undoubted it were much better to be occupied in honest recreation than to do nothing".[179] The sentiment is given dramatic expression at the play's core, for she steps into the action at a crucial moment. A quartet of viols accompanies the galliard

she dances with Wyt. She fails to divert him from Idlenes. The song is thus wholly au point. In the second song, Fame, Favour, Riches and Worship, sent by the World, seek to console Science -

> "woorshyppe / ladye / thes [p] our plesures & parsons too
> ar sente to you / you servyce to doo"[180]

- who is saddened by the non-appearance of her suitor. At its conclusion, she begs them leave her with the words:

> "/ In deede smalle cawse gevyn to care for the worldes /faverȳng/
> seeyng the wyttes of worlde be so waveryng";[181]

words which have important implications as regards the resolution of events. Here they alert the audience allegorically to an important moral distinction. The third song is one of welcome. Wyt's servant, Confidens, proclaims the imminent arrival of Science. Instruccion, Studye and Diligence form a quartet with Wyt, to which Science, her parents and Confidens provide a response; the two groups alternate verses. The song thus also celebrates a betrothal, and serves as a joyful yet meaningful prelude to the forthcoming marriage, whose significance is delivered by Science in a warning to her future spouse.

> "for I science am in this degree
> as all or most part of woomen bee
> yf ye vse me well in a good sorte
> then shall I be youre Ioy & comfort
> but yf ye vse me [w] not well then dowt me
> for sure ye were better then wyth out me."[182]

The play ends with a song, 'Remembraunce', - no words survive - for the full consort of viols and voices. The music in the play fulfils several important roles. It is there to underpin key moments in the drama, to lighten the didactic element by "the refreshing of /the audience's/ wit", and to provide opportunities for boys to exercise their

musical skills within a dramatic framework. Finally, "it...serveth for recreation after tedious or laborious affairs". The music is neither gratuitous nor pointless: "...it is for the better attaining the knowledge of a public weal".[183]

Elyot's panegyric to dancing[184] is conveniently summarised as follows:

> "Now because there is no pastime to be compared with that wherein may be found both recreation and meditation of virtue, I have among all honest pastimes, wherein is exercise of the body, noted dancing to be of excellent utility, comprehending in it wonderful figures...of virtues and noble qualities, and specially of the commodious virtue called prudence...Wherefore all they that have their courage stirred toward very honour or perfect nobility, let them approach to this pastime, and either themselves prepare to dance or else at the leastway behold with watching eyes others that can dance truly."[185]

Redford introduces the galliard at a dramatic moment in the narrative. It seems to embody Elyot's vision to the letter. Reson has earlier forseen the need for "honest recreation" after labour:

> "and that the better hold out ye* may *[recte he]
> to refresh my soone wyt now by the way
> sū solas for hym I wyll provyde
> an honest woman dwellth here besyde
> whose name is cald honest recreacion
> as men report / for wytes consolacion
> she hath no peere / yf wyt were halfe deade
> she cowld revyve hym / thus is yt sed"[186]

She dutifully appears to revive Wyt after his death in the first encounter with Tedyousnes. Wyt attempts to buss her, but she reminds him of his engagement vows, which he lightly dismisses. "to wyn recreacion" he undertakes to dance with her. The dramatic ironies are rooted in Elyot's views, to which may also be added his belief that "by the association of a man and a woman in dancing may be signified

matrimony".[187] Wyt's virtue, nobility and prudence are conspicuously lacking as he succumbs to Idlenes.

> "Honest Recreacion why whether now have ye doone synce
> Wyt ye in fayth w^t^ wery bones ye have possest me
> /among thes damselles now wyll I rest me"

He fails to realise that "yt ys an harlot" (likewise Idlenes' attendants) because he has failed to appreciate the recuperative powers of Honest Recreacion, powers that reason would have made manifest. Instead, having idly provoked the rival women to dispute their respective claims, he promptly falls asleep, so that he "lyethe as wone / that neyther heerth nor seeth".[188] "For it is said of a noble author, 'In doing nothing men learn to do evil'."[189] Wyt, couched in Idlenes' lap and surrounded by "damselles", emblematically prefigures the infatuated Titania, attended by fairies, nursing Bottom in his ass's head. Redford's use of the galliard extols the value of "some manner of exercise", links it to the important benefits of "honest recreation", and prepares the onlookers for the descent of Wyt to the nadir of his fortunes. Incidentally, the two boys dancing the galliard must have been quite exceptional to have mastered so quickly a novel and difficult dance.

Redford, like Elyot, is recommending a <u>via activa</u> as the true path of an educated man. Wyt's wooing of Science, encouraged by Reson, is the narrative device that makes the point. Such a man need not be wealthy nor, by implication, a nobleman:

"Reson ...syns they both be so meete matches
to love ech other / strawe for the patches
af woldly mucke / syence hath inowghe
for them both to lyve"[190]

Science dismisses the worldly advantages of favour, riches, worship and fame because, without her marriage to Wyt, their acquisition is worthless and unmerited. They are the material rewards of a successful governor, of a man possessed of knowledge and virtue. Redford lodges this view in Wyt's pained cry of loss at Idlenes' hands:

"alas /lad/ from reson had I not varyd
ladye science or this /the/ I had maryd
& those fower gyftes which the world gave her
I had woon to had I kept her favor
wher now in stede of that lady brygh t
/a/wyth all those gallantes seene in my syght
favor / ryches /∧ ⌜ye⌝ worshyp / & fame
I have woone hatred beggry & open /shame/"[191]

Which is why the quartet's earlier consolatory song to Science is so important. By worthily completing his education, Wyt will come into his inheritance:

"towchyng youre dowghter my deere hart∧ ⌜siens⌝
as I am sertayne that to abuse her
I brede myne owne sorow / & well to vse her
I encrece my Ioy"[192]

Wit and Science is an archetypal and brilliant product of the new learning. Its impeccable morality is dead in tune with the aspirations of those who swelled the court of the early Tudors. The wholly secular preoccupations remove it from religious controversy while placing it firmly at the centre of political life - it was almost certainly first performed at court. It is not, as David Bevington suggests, "devoid of polemical slant;...innocently and totally involved in a boys' world of education, tedium, and the need for relaxation".[193] In so far as

those factors affected the achievement of position at court, Redford's play was a salutary lesson. That it was written by a schoolmaster for boys in the process of education gave it an admonitory power, never more so perhaps than when they themselves performed it. The play is an outstanding example of the value and effectiveness of drama in education, and a fine testimonial of the workings of education in drama. It may not, strictly speaking, be polemical, but its imperatives are no less insistent. Its advent was timely; its influence, far-reaching.

Certain notable features argue for the play's scenic and stylistic provenance in court entertainments. The use of music and dancing, for example, I have already dealt with in some detail. The brief debate between Idlenes and Honest Recreación provides another instance. Wyt's commission, on behalf of Science, to scale the summit of Mount Parnassus and, in so doing, to slay the giant Tedyousnes, derives from the Pas d'Armes[194], whose influence pervades the pageantry and disguisings of the first two Tudor kings.[195] Two entertainments in particular find echoes in Wit and Science. The trymphe of Love and Bewte, devised for Twelfth Night, 1514, "was scarcely less than a formal interlude. Features of the entertainment were a fool, a morris dance, a dialogue of Venus and Beauty, the triumph of the two over all enemies, and the taming of a savage man and a lion".[196] On Twelfth Night of the following year, the disguising featured "viii wyldemen, all apparayled in grene mosse, made with slyued sylke, with Vggly weapons and terrible visages, and there foughte with the knyghtes".[197] While it is most unlikely that Redford can have seen these particular spectacles, visual tradition and

the choice of material are quite likely to have survived. Hence, Tedyousnes, on his first entry, "cūth in w^{t} a vyser over hys hed", clad in armour -

> "thes iontes / thes lynkes /
> be ruffe / & halfe rustye /
> I must go shake them /
> supple to make them"

- and carrying a club.[198] There is some confirmation of this survival of taste in what Sidney Anglo has described as "a slight revival of festivities" during the final period of Henry VIII's personal rule (1540-46). Shrove Sunday and Tuesday, 1543, had a show which included "eight 'monstrous torch bearers', and eight monsters, costing £64. 5s. Od. Another show with 'monsters' was given on New Year's Day 1544 at a cost of £88. 11s. 9d."[199] Redford, the playmaker, has artfully wed form to content to make Wit and Science an ideal vehicle for presentation at court, which is surely where it received its first performance, as Reson's final speech makes clear:

> "well sayd & as ye dowghter wyshe it
> that ioy to all folke in generall
> so wysh I reson the same but yet
> fyrst in this lyfe wysh I here to fall
> to our most noble kyng & quene in especiall"[200]

There remain two questions requiring an answer: when was the play written and performed, and by whom precisely? The answer to the first enquiry must be tentative. Grattan Flood takes the galliard as conclusive evidence for the play's composition in 1538/9. He notes that in the Book named The Governor (1531) Sir Thomas Elyot does not list the galliard among those dances popular in England in 1530. In The Castle

of Health, however, first published about 1536, and dedicated to Thomas Cromwell,[201] there is mention of it in the course of a discussion upon the importance of exercise - "...vehement exercise is compound of violent exercise and swift when they are joined together at one time, as dansyng of galyards".[202] Wyt certainly runs out of puff. The Malone editors find the argument unconvincing; they favour a composition date broadly between 1531 and 1547.[203] The earliest surviving printed examples of the galliard are found in three of the French publisher Attaingnant's publications of 1529-31. Cultural influences from the continent will not necessarily have waned despite the ill will left in the wake of the king's divorce manœuvrings. By 1540, two English galliards existed for the keyboard (GB - Lbm Roy. App. 58).[204] The new dance may have gained a foothold and prospered during the "slight revival of festivities". There are, too, allusive factors like the 'monster' festivities as clues to dating. About the same time, children as performers were also establishing a privileged position. Under Richard Crane, the Chapel children played before the king on New Year's Day, 1528, and at Christmas in the years 1528, 1538, 1539 and 1540,[205] while Thomas Cromwell's Accounts record their playing before him on 13 January, 1538.[206] On 2 February, the same year, "Woodall /Ūdall/, the schoolmaster", played "before my Lord", quite possibly with Eton boys; on 12 April, "Mr Hopton's priest" was paid "for playing before my Lord with his children"; and, in 1539, money was disbursed for "Heywoode's mask", which seems to have been performed both before Cromwell and the king,[207] again, presumably, by boys.

Wit and Science is a non-controversial spectacle embracing a congenial

didacticism, whose instruction is shrewdly angled towards a known audience, and whose playing by embryonic governors will have enhanced its appeal. Whether written and performed before or after Cromwell's beheading in 1540, Redford's play was in no danger of losing currency or of disappearing under the barrage of religious contumely. The late 1530s recommend themselves as an apt performance time and probable date of composition. The auspices were, in all senses, fair; the time was right.

I have already implied that the performers must surely have been St Paul's boys drawn from both establishments. The play demands at least eight performers. T W Craik has shown how doubling may be effected, since four of the participants need to be skilled instrumentalists.[208] The number of St Paul's choristers was ten,[209] so the piece could have been cast from within their ranks. However, the ties between the grammar and choir schools obviated the need for economy, especially since the use of full resources would have allowed the musicians to display their art to optimum effect. Besides, a full complement of choristers including, perhaps, some of the Colet scholars will have furnished the play's conclusion with a celebratory air fully in accord with the impending nuptials of Wyt and Science. The stage direction implies two groups, the quartet of viols and the other of singers. There is, too, a suggestive line of Wyt's after he has ceased, breathlessly, to dance - "...among thes damselles now wyll I rest me".[210] The preceding stage direction requires that Idlenes "cūth in / & sytth downe"[211] but brings on no attendants. Wyt's line implies otherwise; schoolboy extras are

the natural solution.

John Redford, both as playmaker and director of boy actors, hit upon solutions to dramatic problems that paved the way to that ultimate and dazzling age of drama dominated by Shakespeare. He was, perhaps, fortunate to have found himself in an excellent position to effect change but, as a successful choirmaster and composer, there cannot have been irresistible pressures upon him to develop a career in an alternative direction. It seems, however, that he must have been very much a man of his time, open to the influx of new ideas, attentive to those who championed them. Educationally, he was actively involved in their dissemination. Redford was also discerning in his choice of friends. Through Heywood, for example, he entered a circle of enlightenment quite as brilliant as those of other epochs. He learnt that art may rise above controversy without losing its relevance. Wit and Science was written amid the ferment of the Reformation in England, by a man alert to the restrictive and deadening arm of polemic upon art. Redford seems quickly to have understood how the drama might be steered through the Scylla and Charybdis of doctrinal turmoil. He had spaces to perform in; he had practised actors. What he sought was a safe means of exploiting these assets. He found it in a political philosophy whose social implications immediately provided him with an audience. Matter and manner of presentation fell into place. In Wit and Science, Redford assumes Christian convictions but eschews prescribing their mode of practice. Instead he posits the creation of a healthy "public weal" by men of wit and learning (science), within which domain, by implication, universal

tolerance may become the norm. Sir Thomas Elyot's masterpiece has been shown to have influenced the interlude. Thomas More's Utopia is also a pervasive presence, the crucible of an ideal towards which to aspire. Redford so conveys his message as cleverly to by-pass the battleground of belief. The members of his audience comprised men of all faiths. They had, however, at least two innate propensities in common; a growing sense of nationalism and a firm belief in the necessity for a strong government. Redford removed the bone of contention from his interlude and led his spectators by the most delightful of paths to that common ground they cherished. His subtle blend of high art and popular culture, of new learning and indigenous folklore, of intimacy and pageantry beguiled the eye and ear. His boy actors added lustre to the images of the play and to those the spectators had of themselves.

The creation of so successful an actor-audience relationship ensured that the drama would continue to evolve, but it was an amateur who had created the opportunity denied to the professional actors, whose grass roots appeal caused them willy-nilly, to become the agents of doctrinal strife in their struggle for survival, Not until 1576, with the foundation of the Theater, were they able to launch the offensive to establish and to prove their supremacy over the "little eyases". That it took them so long is attributable to the efforts of Redford's second close friend associated with child drama, Sebastian Westcott, who succeeded him as choirmaster of St Paul's, and of whom I shall have more to say in the next chapter (see Chapter IV). Redford was almost certainly the catalyst in bringing together Heywood and Westcott, whose

joint and individual activities after their friend's death were the prime impetus behind the growing demand for boy actors. Though Westcott was a devout Catholic, he not only survived the years of religious discord but went on to become a favourite of Elizabeth I's and his young players the most sought after at court. As regards their repertoire, Arthur Brown confesses

> "that without further evidence we are not justified in ascribing to Sebastian Westcott the authorship of those plays which were produced under his guidance. All the available evidence points to the fact that the children's companies were prepared to act plays written by established playwrights, either because they were written specially for a particular company or because...(they) were 'the best that then were to be had'."[212]

However, Westcott's guidelines for play selection were, I suggest, established well before the days of Gloriana's patronage. While there is no record of the works he staged between 1547 and 1567, one may conjecture that they comprised pieces by Redford and Heywood plus others of similar style and import. Wit and Science recommends itself as the ideal rather than Heywood's anecdotal gems. Redford's work enshrines a set of fundamental values dramatically conceived for presentation by boy actors before a particular audience. Westcott must have recognised its extraordinary qualities and built upon them with flair and vigour. How else explain the pre-eminence of his company?

4. Conclusion

The anonymous author of Godly Queene Hester and John Heywood wrote at a time when, despite the growing tensions over the king's divorce, England was still predominantly a Catholic country. The distant thunder

of reform echoed from the continent and stirred the intelligentsia to controversy.[213] It left the majority of folk untouched. The death of Cardinal Wolsey on the 24th November, 1530, marked a turning point. For two years the country drifted without policy. In December 1531, Thomas Cromwell was admitted to the inner sanctum of the privy council. A new order was about to emerge.

Godly Queene Hester is a concentrated attack upon malpractice within the old order. Heywood's first three plays are graceful entertainments written with one eye on the court. His next three pieces are robust comedies aimed at a popular audience. Both authors are thoroughly secular in outlook; matters of faith are taken for granted. The writer of Hester conceives his play on the grand scale; Heywood prefers small casts and minimal trappings - The Play of the Wether excepted - not unlike Shared Experience and the 7:84 Company today. The one borrows from the "little tradition" to fashion a spectacular satire in the spirit of the "great"; Heywood reverses the process to create comic squibs capable of being set off by a small group of players, the established four men and a boy. Both men wrote for boy actors though, as I have suggested, Heywood may well have had adult actors in mind for some of his pieces. Certainly, he seems to have been experimenting with the possibility of a wholly secular professional drama. In this respect, the two men diverged, the one writing quite specifically for youthful amateurs, the other apparently doing the same but tending towards professional involvement. They could do so with impunity in the climate of pre-Reformation England.

John Redford's career spanned the troubled years following upon the bréak with Rome. He was primarily a musician but, as the fragmentary interludes attributed to him imply,[214] his dramatic activities were not sporadic. He may well have seen Godly Queene Hester; there is good reason to believe that he was well acquainted with Heywood's output, that the choirboys he was later to oversee performed some of them. What is prophetic about Redford's two contemporaries is that the one demonstrated how the drama might expand and develop at a technical level, and where the fruits of such development might be presented, while Heywood indicated with whom (the professionals) ultimate success lay. Redford seems to have realised that such benefit as might accrue to the drama at a time of religious and political ferment could only come from essentially uncontroversial sources. The problem was what to write about. He already knew how and where to present the finished play. Wit and Science is the triumphant solution. The eventual eclipse of the boy actors may always have been a matter of time. However, Redford's prescience enabled them to fulfil the dual role of keeping alive the drama in education while providing the inspiration for the continued educational impetus of the drama. They did not merely hold the fort until relieved by the professionals. On the contrary, they offered a challenge which the adults were forced to meet and overcome. They were only able to do so by beating the "little Yases" at their own game.

John Redford's radical insights and revolutionary solution to the problems of dramatic evolution can be sensed behind the dramatic activities of the next twenty-five years, the evidence for which resides

in records of performances, which are far from being specific about the plays presented, and in the extant plays themselves. Nonetheless, such evidence as there is in these transitional years reinforces the conviction of the boys' pre-eminence in matters theatrical and of the predicament of the adults unwillingly yoked to the plough of polemic.

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81 John Heywood (see Note 70), op. cit., 11. 1495-1501.

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83 John Heywood (see Note 70), op. cit., 11. 1040-3.

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95 Ibid., p. 155, 11. 430-1, 434-5.

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109 MCM, St Paul's, A of C, fols. 24^{r} & 24^{v}.

110 Ibid., fol. 28^{v}.

111 Ibid., fol. 103^{r}.

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113 W J Lawrence, 'Early French Players in England', in The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies (Stratford, 1912), Chap. VII, p. 127.

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118 See Helen Waddell, The Wandering Scholars (London, 1927), a marvellous history of these extraordinary individuals.

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125 Ian Maxwell (see Note 43), op. cit., pp. 37-8.

126 John Heywood (see Note 41), op. cit., p. 6, ll. 169-72.

127 Ibid., p. 7, ll. 219-20.

128 Ibid., loc. cit., ll. 206-14.

129 William Phy (see Note 54), op. cit., p. 31.

130 H N Hillebrand (see Note 51), op. cit., p. 94.

131 John Heywood (see Note 41), op. cit., p. 8, ll. 228-30.

132 John Heywood (see Note 42, ii), op. cit., p. 119, sd.

133 Ibid., p. 122, ll. 544-6.

134 T W Craik (see Note 124), op. cit., p. 295.

135 Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book named The Governor (London, 1970), p. 47, Chap. XIII.

136 A W Reed (see Note 35), op. cit., p. 58, quoting from Princess Mary's Book of Expenses, Royal 17B, xxvii, f. 7b.

137 Ibid., p. 62, from Cromwell's Book of Accounts: R. O., Excheq. T. R., Misc. Bl., 256. Also in LP: Henry VIII, Vol. XIV, Part II, edited by Gairdner & Brodie (London, 1895), p. 339.

138 Ibid., pp. 61-2.

139 See Edwin Greenlaw, Studies in Spenser's Historical Allegory (Baltimore/John Hopkins, 1932), Chapter I, where the matter is fully discussed. I note here, however, a concise summary of the matter:

> "Revived in the early part of the sixteenth century, it /the Arthurian legend/became identified with Tudor politics, embodied an historical primitivism that accompanied the growth of the new national spirit, stimulated the study and writing of history, and then, once more, became the inspiration of a new literary cycle." (p. 20).

Shakespeare's King John, it will be remembered, is opposed by Prince Arthur, the rightful heir, of whom he says:

> "He is a very serpent in my way,
> And wheresoe'er this foot of mine doth tread,
> He lies before me;" (III, iii, 61-3).

a far cry from Bishop Bale's goodly monarch.

140 Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary, Materialen, Vol. 44 (Kraus reprint, 1968), pp. 141 & 142.

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143 John Redford (see Note 4). This edition prints the texts of the songs in the play at the end of the volume and includes also two fragmentary interludes by the same author. All quotations in the main text are from this edition. See also Tudor Interludes, edited by Peter Happé (London, 1972), for an edition of the play which incorporates the songs in the text.

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145 Arthur Brown, 'Two Notes on John Redford', MLR, Vol. LXIII (1948), p. 510.

146 W H Grattan Flood (see Note 144), op. cit., pp. 96-7 & 98.

147 Henry Ellis (see Note 18), op. cit., 1st Series, Vol. I (London, 1825), p. 271.

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151 J H Lupton (see Note 107), op. cit., p. 278.

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153 A W Reed (see Note 35), op. cit., pp. 55-6.

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157 William Roper, The lyfe of Sir Thomas More, knighte, edited by Elsie V Hitchcock (EETS, OS 197, Kraus reprint, 1978), pp. 103-4.

158 Sir Thomas Elyot (see Note 135), op. cit., edited with an Introduction by S E Lehmberg. All quotations in the text are from this edition.

159 Ibid., p. 92.

160 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 38, 11. 977-9.

161 Ibid., p. 6, 11. 137-40.

162 Ibid., p. 39, 11. 981-2.

163 Ibid., p. 43, 11. 1097-9.

164 Glynne Wickham (see Note 66), op. cit., Book Two, Chaps. 4-7.

165 Ibid., pp. 75-6.

166 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 1, 11. 1-3.

167 Ibid., p. 17, 11. 434-5.

168 Ibid., p. 32, 11. 806-10.

169 Ibid., p. 33, 11. 834-5.

170 Sir Thomas Elyot (see Note 158), op. cit., pp. 47 & 48.

171 Ibid., p. 12.

172 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 4, 11. 95-8.

173 Sir Thomas Elyot (see Note 158), op. cit., p. 30.

174 Ibid., pp. 49 & 88.

175 Ibid., p. 51.

176 Ibid., p. 20.

177 Ibid., p. 59.

178 T W Craik, The Tudor Interlude (Leicester, 1958), p. 48.

179 Sir Thomas Elyot (see Note 158), op. cit., p. 88.

180 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 26, 11. 654-5.

181 Ibid., p. 27, 11. 680-1.

182 Ibid., p. 42, 11. 1059-64.

183 Sir Thomas Elyot (see Note 158), op. cit., p. 22.

184 Ibid., Chaps. XIX-XXII.

185 Ibid., p. 79.

186 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 2, 11. 33-40.

187 Sir Thomas Elyot (see Note 158), op. cit., p. 77.

188 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 13, 11. 330-2 & p. 17, 11. 424-5.

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191 Ibid., p. 34, 11. 856-63.

192 Ibid., p. 43, 11. 1096-99.

193 David Bevington (see Note 2), op. cit., p. 109.

194 Glynne Wickham (see Note 12), op. cit., pp. 22-50 & 218-25.

195 Edward Hall (see Note 28), op. cit., in which Hall offers vivid descriptions of the pageantry and spectacle of court entertainments. See also Sydney Anglo (see Note 156).

196 C R Baskervill; 'Some Evidence for Early Romantic Plays in England', MP, Vol. XIV (1916), p. 472.

197 Edward Hall (see Note 28), op. cit., p. 580.

198 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 6, sd, and p. 7, ll. 171ff.

199 Sydney Anglo (see Note 156), op. cit., p. 279, n. 1.

200 John Redford (see Note 4), op. cit., p. 44, ll. 1117-21.

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203 Malone editors (see Note 4), op. cit., Introduction, p. x.

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206 LP: Henry VIII, Vol. XIV, Part 2, edited by Gairdner & Brodie (London, 1895), p. 333.

207 Ibid., pp. 334, 335 & 339.

208 T W Craik (see Note 178), op. cit., pp. 47-8.

209 E K Chambers (see Note 152), op. cit., II, p. 10.

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213 See, for example, Rainer Pineas, Thomas More and Tudor Polemics (Bloomington/Indiana, 1968), and J K McConica, English Humanists

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CHAPTER IV

THE TRANSITIONAL YEARS: 1533-1558

When Thomas Cromwell introduced into the Commons the Act in Restraint of Appeals to Rome on 14 March, 1533, he not only made possible English emancipation from papal authority but thereby exposed Englishmen to a period of confusion and unrest during which the average man must have found it extremely difficult to find his bearings. I have called these years transitional because people's disorientation came as much from a feeling of passing from one state to another which was not in itself undesirable, as from a genuine bewilderment as to the state of the nation and of their role and status in it. The new state constituted the fusion of faith and politics into a single concept where previously they had worked as a comparatively successful entente. Cromwell, the chief architect of change, planned and set about raising the new state[1] with a visionary assiduity that left its mark nationwide. Inevitably, the drama was affected.

Cromwell was shrewd enough to realise that the moral interlude was an ideal means of disseminating new ideas amongst the illiterate and undecided. Small, mobile and highly-skilled professional troupes could reach those parts of the nation which other measures often failed to reach and, since conversion in matters of faith (rather than politics) comprised the more difficult task, what better than to exploit the didactic form cherished by the enemy to propagandize the country at large. Sir Richard Morison, an apologist of the new dispensation from Cromwell's stable of pamphleteers, summarised the matter in A discourse touching the reformation of the lawes of England[2] wherein he emphasises that the iniquities of papal bondage must

"by all meanes" be "opened inculked and dryven into the peoples heddes, tought in scoles to children, plaied in playes before the ignoraunt people, songe in mynstrelles songs, and bokes in englisshe purposley to be dyvysed to declare the same at large".[3] That is a powerful statement of intent.

The corollary to such re-education of the common folk is the likelihood of resistance to the new millenium. Those ousted from power and influence would automatically resist and take exception to dramatic utterances which pilloried their years of ascendancy. "This is the only cause", snarls the intemperate John Bale against those who "playe altogether hicke scorner,... of your blusteryng and blowyng, your roaryng and ragynge, your impresonyng and burnynge of the sayd godly ministers, be they writers or preachers /like himself/, players or syngers".[4] They might even incite armed resistance, as with the Pilgrimage of Grace.[5] Certainly, ordinary folk were not merely confused by events following upon the severance from Rome but angered by the spoliation (of the monasteries and chantries, for example) and by the destruction of a known and cherished way of life implemented in the king's name by instant "gentlemen" who must often have seemed merely eager to line their own pockets. In this respect, plays attracted large gatherings whose disaffection might find a focus in the material dramatised and thus lead to unrest, rebellion even. This was certainly Holinshed's view writing about Ket's rebellion of 1549[6] which, however, as G R Elton observes, "was the only major agrarian disturbance of the period with a protestant /my italics/ bias".[7] However, the same year, the men of Devon and Cornwall rose in protest over the introduction of the new English Prayer Book by an injunction which also attacked saints, images and holy days.[8] It was a more typical reaction.

The horror of rebellion persisted; the Wars of the Roses cast a long shadow. Upholders of the royal supremacy believed it would only survive under a powerful monarch or, at the very least, borne up by a strong and efficient government machine,[9] to which many adherents of the new faith belonged. Champions of the Marian reaction argued likewise in their own cause. State censorship became a necessary step and drama, like much else, came under restraint.[10] The many injunctions against plays and players ground out by metropolitan officials[11] are proof enough, though London was more favourably disposed towards the reform movement. City elders tended to support royal policy. However, they "were moved more by a prudential desire to further the civic good and to prevent the social upheaval which they feared would come with religious fervour than to commit the city to Reformation".[12] Their caution also buttressed them against the unrest of the young, whose discontent with a gerontocratic society which denied them rapid advancement encouraged them to champion the new faith[13], albeit covertly for the most part.

The provinces clung to the old religion; London received the new. Drama was pressed into the service of doctrinal reform - Bishop Bale's activities are typical. It was otherwise a cause for concern. Education in drama revived didacticism as a weapon of moral conversion. Even drama in Tudor education became the surreptitious means of expounding dangerous doctrines to the literate in the guise of unexceptional moral entertainments, though its evolutionary thrust in the main derived strength from the freedoms won on its behalf by those prophets John Redford, John Heywood and the anonymous author of Godly Queene Hester. The amateurs prospered and developed the forms of drama. The art of the professionals was stifled by

the retrogressive methods adopted to project reformist propaganda. It is to these matters that I now turn in greater detail.

1. Education in Tudor Drama: In the Provinces and London

i Plays and Players at large

Drama, as a weapon of polemic, disseminated the prevailing tendencies through the medium of interludes played across the land by professional players. There is no reason to suppose their itineraries underwent violent change. After all, a troupe playing a tried and tested circuit would presumably tend to exploit a proven pattern. The varieties of hall visited therefore remained as before. I shall consider the evidence for schools and universities at a later point in the present chapter. Here I note, upon available evidence, that the records for Kent show, for example, that "the pryncys players", the future Edward VI's, appeared regularly at Canterbury between 1537 and 1547, and as "the kynges players" during his reign. Given his Protestant proclivities, the plays offered are likely to have reflected his doctrinal bias. The new faith almost certainly influenced the pieces staged by "my lord Chauncellors players" (1537/8) and "my lord ptectours pleyers" (1548/9)[14]. Such, presumably,was also the case at Dover, where visits were made by "the princes players" (1542/3 and 1544/5), by "the quynes players" (1545/6, 1547/8), - Katherine Parr championed the new faith - by "the Kynges players" (1547/8, 1550/1) and by "my lord ptectors players" (1547/8, 1548/9).[15] There are comparable entries for Folkstone and New Romney.

The Shrewsbury records demonstrate a far greater multiplicity of dramatic activities co-existing apparently without friction. In 1537/8,

within a year of his birth, Prince Edward's players, together with those of the Lord Privy Seal's, are visiting the town; they do so again in 1540[16]. I imagine their repertoire had a Protestant bias. As the King's interluders ("interlusoribus dn̄i Regis") they made return visits in 1546/7, 1547/8 and 1548/9[17]. Interluders, unnamed, are noted in 1542 - "In vino dat' int' lusorib' post int'lusum in cimitirio Sc̄i Cedde cora' commiss' dn̄i R' battis & al'"; and in 1548 - "...int'lusor ludentibus cum dn̄o Abb'e de Marall", the Abbot being a local version of the Lord of Misrule.[18] In the latter vein, but more surprisingly, interluders present a play of "Robyn Hood" in 1552/3, well into Edward VI's reign.[19] Meanwhile, theatrical fare continues at a hollow in the hillside known locally as the Quarry. Whitsuntide, in particular, was an important time of festivity for the inhabitants of Shrewsbury, the Quarry being the preferred venue. Thus, on 16 May, 1556, the Municipal Registers record: "The Bailiffs to set forward the stage play this next Whitsontide for the worship of the town",[20] while the Minutes of the Mercers, Ironmongers and Goldsmiths Company for 15 May note the assembling of members to know "what they wold be cōsent to geve towarde the furnyture & charge of a playe at Whitsontyde next to be played in the qwarell behynde the walles wherunto m^{r} Bayliffes haue requyred the ayede of this f'lowshippe".[21] If the compiler of Escutcheons of the Bailiffs and Mayors of Shrewsbury, 1372-1725 is to be believed, "This year was the playe of S^{t} Julian the Apostate played in the quarrell."[22] However, Shrewsbury's thriving theatrical life is, I suspect, exceptional. Elsewhere, more settled traditions persisted.

At Lincoln, guild pageants continue to be staged, notably that of St Anne's guild, which seems to have received regular performance up to the year 1547/8, when "the Inuentorye of the Juelles plate & ornamentes lately

belongyng to the procession for Saynt Anne" suggests the work was forbidden, to be revived again under Mary Tudor (1553/4) - "First it is agreid that Saynt Anne Guyld w^{t} corpus christi play schal be broughtfurth & playd this yere."[23] At Louth, the Corpus Christi plays were apparently suspended from 1536 to 1556, when they were revived. Significantly, the grammar school master, John Goodall, was closely involved in the staging both before its lapse and after its revival.[24] In Sherborne (Dorset) and neighbouring parishes, the Corpus Christi play apparently flourished unabated throughout the period when its suppression might have been expected. In Sherborne itself, the circumstances of performance were seemingly quite elaborate too.[25] In areas sufficiently distanced from the heart of religious controversy old habits died hard. Such evidence supports Fr. Gardiner's assertions as to the staying power of the old dramatic form 'till quite late into the sixteenth century.[26]

The co-existence of both modes, the cycle play and the polemical interlude, is further confirmed by John Bale's output. A performance of Kynge Johan was given before Cranmer in 1539,[27] and two further entries in Cromwell's accounts record performances by Bale's interlude troupe.[28] More extraordinary, perhaps, is the Bishop's own description, in the autobiographical The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande (1553), of the presentation of three of his plays at Kilkenny. The occasion is the proclamation of Mary's accession, and Bale's narrative is worth quoting in full.

> "On the xx. daye of August, was the Ladye Marye with us at Kylkennye proclamed quene of Englande, Fraunce, and Irelande, with the greatest solempnyte, that there coulde be devysed, of processions, musters, and disgysinges; all the noble captaynes and gentilmen there about beinge present. What a-do I had that daye with the prebendaryes and prestes abought wearinge the cope, croser, and myter, in procession, it were to muche to

> write. I tolde them earnestly, whan thay wolde have me ther-unto, that "I was not Moyses' minister, but Christe's; I desyred them not to compell me to his denyall, which is, S. Paule sayth, inthe repetinge of Moyses' sacramentes and ceremoniall schaddowes"; Gal. v. With that I toke Christe's Testament in my hande, and went to the Market Crosse, the people in great nombre folowinge. There toke I the xiii. chap. of S. Paule to the Romanes, declaringe to them brevely what the autoritie was of the worldly powers and magistrates, what reverence and obedience were due to the same. In the meane tyme, had the prelates goten ii. disgysed prestes, one to beare the myter afore me, and an other the croser, makinge iii. procession pageauntes of one. The yonge men, in the forenone, played a tragedye of 'God's Promyses' in the old lawe, at the Market crosse, with organe, plainges, and songes very aptely. In the afternone agayne they played a commedie of 'Sanct Johan Baptiste's Preachinges', of Christe's bap-tisynge, and of his temptacion in the wildernesse; to the small contentacion of the prestes and other papistes there."[29]

The passage is interesting for a number of reasons. First, the circumstances of performance, where a procession is followed by playing in a market square. Second, he tells us that "yonge men...played," as opposed to older men, who were probably less or not at all sympathetic to the new creed. Third, his own public pronouncement stresses the principle of passive obedience as authorised by St. Paul's epistle to the Romans, chap. xiii, the selfsame chapter which provided the basis for Peter Martyr's discourse on the identical theme; which is not to suggest that Bale is plagiarising but to point to the singular implication the chapter apparently had for those of the same religious conviction. Lastly, the sequence of three plays deals with consequent events along cycle play lines. Old Testament prophecies are fulfilled in the ensuing narrative, as, for example, in the Towneley cycle. The degree to which any indebtedness is proven has been discussed elsewhere[30] but, given the continuing appeal of cycle plays, especially in the remoter parts of the land, I can adduce no reason why Bale should not have chosen to mine a form whose persistence was itself a

tribute to its effectiveness.

The Chefe Promyses of God[31] is a form of processus prophetarum, in which Pater Coelestis closes lively exchanges with Old Testament figures of authority by promising them the future means of salvation invested in the coming of His Son. The piece is essentially a dramatised sermon in seven acts, each an emblematic statement of the promise of redemption to those who will tread in Christ's footsteps, like Byzantine ikons or the manuscript illuminations of medieval times. The acts are linked, or terminated, by antiphons chosen from the Advent liturgy for the week immediately preceding Christmas eve. This is no mere whim but Bale skilfully incorporating into a play of Protestant import elements from the Catholic ritual which, when sung, will trigger the emotional responses of audiences. He borrows from the enemy's armoury to arouse the spectator's subconscious into a recognition of the Redeemer's coming; allegorically, the Reformation. Any doubts as to the correspondences between the trio of plays and the older form are largely dispelled by the first play's close - "More of thys matter, conclude herafter we shall."[32] And indeed there follows Iohan Baptystes preachynge in the Wyldernesse,[33] which concludes with Jesus' baptism, and The Temtacyon of our Lorde,[34] which opens with the words:

> "After hys baptyme, Christ was Gods sonne declared.
> By the fathers voyce, as ye before haue hearde."

and which contains a later cross-reference when Christ declares:

> "Man lyueth not by breade, or corporall fedynge onlye,
> But by Gods promyse, and by hys scriptures heauenlye,"

in rejection of Satan's arguments persuading Him to turn stones into bread.[35] I do not wish to overstate the cyclic nature of the three plays, but there is a reasonable case to be made, especially since Bale was adept at wielding old forms to novel ends.

Thre Lawes[36] is a more ambitious compendium of the Bishop's dramatic devices culled more specifically from the traditional interlude. He is precise in his final instructions as to how "Into fyue personages maye the partes of thys Comedy be deuyded", and as to "The aparellynge of the six vyces, or frutes of Infydelyte".

> "Lete Idolatry be decked lyke an old wytche, Sodomy lyke a monke of all sectes, Ambycyon lyke a byshop, Couetousnesse lyke a pharyse or spyrituall lawer, false doctryne, lyke a popysh doctour, and hypocresy lyke a graye fryre. The rest of the partes are easye ynough to coniecture,"[37]

since Bale presumes a thorough knowledge of past practice. Indeed, the play depends greatly for its effect upon the convention of costume change or appearance.[38] The Laws of Nature and Moses being infected by Vices contract, respectively, leprosy and blindness, while Christ's Law, embodied in Euangelium ("Christes Gospell"), is stripped of his apparel onstage, then dragged off to be "brent for heresye". Vindicta Dei overwhelms the forces of evil and Deus Pater bids the defiled Laws: "Approche nygher than, and ye shall be restorede", in full view of the spectators. Such effects are prefigured by, for example, the physical deterioration of Anima in Wisdom - "Here ANIMA apperythe in ȝe most horrybul wyse, fowlere ȝan a fende". - who, upon repentance, is restored to "here fyrst clothynge, her chapplettys and crestys".[39]

There are other striking correspondences to former practice. Deus Pater's opening words echo those with which God launches the Towneley cycle,[40] while Infidelity's "Broom, broom, broom, broom, broom. Bye broom bye bye" has the alliterative cheek of earlier vices;[41] like them, he affects a short, sharp, rollicking style,[42] which is taken up by Naturae lex at their first exchange, thus signalling the latter's imminent decline. The "frutes"

of Infidelity all characterise themselves and catalogue their misdoings upon initial entry, notably as do the Vices in Skelton's Magnyfycence. Above all, the play, though wordy, was probably never tedious in performance. It displays verbal panache - often scurrilous - while the various exchanges will have moved apace buoyed up by the kind of improvisatory acting style perfected by the professionals.

Bale's King Johan[43] however, towers above his other plays. It is based upon King John's defiance of Pope Innocent III in 1206, when the latter confirmed Stephen Langton as Archbishop of Canterbury in lieu of John's choice of his secretary, John de Gray. John's struggle with the Papacy had already recommended itself to reformers like Simon Fish, Robert Barnes and Miles Coverdale,[44] but, most notably, to William Tyndale who, in his The Obedience of a Christian Man,[45] "created the basis for the first 'Protestant' hero or martyr, one who sought to resist the tyranny of the Pope for righteousness sake and who was finally forced to yield to superior power".[46] John's struggles with Innocent provided an ideal metaphor for signifying the achievement of Henry VIII in ridding himself of papal domination and for justifying the establishment of the royal supremacy.

Bale presents John as God's instrument of rule, a king who cares for "ynglond" , whose "husbond" is "god hym selfe, the spowse of eu'y sort/ $\not{y}^{t}$ seke hym in fayth, to y' sowlys helth & cōfort".[47] The opposition forces are presented as full-blown Vices, unscrupulous in their wiles, mercilessly etched in verbal vitriol. Again, every resource of the interlude form is played for all its worth, especially the emblematic force of costume change, which is used not so much to emphasise the element of disguise as to point to the ubiquity, diversity and the tenacity of the forces of Antichrist on

earth.[48] In this respect, Thora Blatt's distribution of roles across a five-man troupe carries greater conviction than T W Craik's six-man solution. Hard-pressed the actors may have been, if she is right, but how telling the insistence of costume imagery, and how necessary yet how effective the greater ensemble thus achieved. Bale manages skillfully to retain the sense of richness, of duplicity and of plotting in the corridors of power while eschewing the more spectacular features of Godly Quene Hester. He is out to vilify and expose a whole system whose universal evil is not localised in effect. To do so he chose the interlude medium, which travelled best.

King Johan coruscates with a harsh, often scatalogical wit which is merciless in ridicule and which draws profligately upon past dramatic practice. Among prime targets of satire are Confession and Absolution, and Catholic liturgy - there are thirteen parodies in all, those of the litany and vespers of the dead being instantly recognisable.[49] Sedycyon's list of relics includes "a/dram of p^{e} tord, [f] swete seynt barnabe", "ow^{r} blyssyd ladys mylke" and "a/ lowse of seynt ffrau̅ces". A marginal addition by Hand B (Bale's) adds "a scab of saynt Iob,...A maggot of Moyses, with a fart of say̅t fandigo",[50] a far grubbier lot than, for example, the Pardoner's in The Foure PP.[51] Doubling, halving, verbal device, costume, all are deployed in a bid not merely to allegorise and convert but to authenticate history. Uniquely, Bale sets John at the centre of his play and makes more real his predicament by allowing the Vices to become real people, unlike Thre Lawes where the Vice's authenticity is achieved by the enumeration of corrupted beings with whom they are associated. Ambitio, for instance, claims acquaintance with, among many, Minos, "Nemrod the tyraunt", "Cruell Pharao", Achitophel, "Jezabel" and Nabuchodonosor; in King Johan,

Sedycyon becomes Stephen Langton, Usurped Power becomes the Pope.

Thre Lawes contains references extending from Adam to the author's own time. Good and evil are contrasted across the ages and God is seen to reveal his purpose in the perspective of history. In King Johan, Bale brings his audience into the present, for it is recent events that preoccupy him, as it is a new commonwealth he wishes to proclaim. It is not references that here authenticate but the parallelism of historical event, so that the present is interpreted in a real past. It is the technique later to be used by Sir Walter Scott in his Waverley novels, and it is a device that Elizabeth I was aware of when she bitterly remarked of Shakespeare's Richard II: "I am Richard II, know ye not that?...this tragedy was played 40^tie times in open streets and houses".[52]

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Bale's play is the dilemma in which he places his protagonist. He alters fundamentally a hitherto accepted view of history, which the playmaker is himself exploiting referentially even as he destroys it. Professor Wickham highlights the innovation in a brilliantly concise comment upon the play:

> "Bale's King Johan, besides being both the first attempt to construct a play around a central character, or title-role, taken from 'modern' English history, and containing the most savagely satiric political comedy so far achieved in England, was revolutionary in yet a third sense; for it sought to present a virtuous character 'overwhelmed by Fortune's Showers' and translated from a state of prosperity into one of adversity by circumstances rather than by sin."[53]

That history repeated itself was not in question; as such, its study was extolled as a guideline to right conduct. But the Catholic view of history was also defined by three fundamental concepts residing in the Fall, the Incarnation and Passion, and the Last Judgment. Redemption and salvation

were possible; the earthly life was the time to achieve them. Hence, the value placed upon those good works so despised by the reformers. The eyes of the Catholic faithful were ever directed towards eternity. It becomes easy to understand why the notion of psychomachia should exert so potent an influence; easy, too, to see how the notion lent itself to dramatic realisation, especially, perhaps, in its most concentrated form in the moral interlude. For Bale to have King John "translated from a state of prosperity into one of adversity by circumstances rather than by sin" was to redefine history in Protestant terms. Justification by faith obviates psychomachia; nor has it much relevance if one is of the elect. The only fight those championing the new faith had on their hands was with the Bishop of Rome and his cohorts, a fight that was as much political as religious, whose battlefield was earthly rather than spiritual.

A protestant view of history tends to the theocratic. To establish the kingdom of God on earth is to be of the elect and, hence, rightfully to deserve salvation. The process requires the conversion of others; preaching and teaching are its front-line weapons. In dramatic terms, the removal of psychomachia leads to assertion, as in Bale's 'cycle' plays and, to a lesser extent, in Thre Lawes. The Vice figures are built up in order to highlight the steadfast faith of the protagonist, whose passivity comes close to being a penchant for punishment, martyrdom even. Understandable, perhaps, in the light of purgative bonfires. King Johan encourages such a view. John is rex iustus beset by the devil's disciples and, finally, poisoned by one of them. He does nothing to defend himself but, to the end, asserts the justice of his cause. While a Catholic view

of history looked to the next life, the Protestant view embraced the material world of the faithful, as governed by a monarch in whose person spiritual and temporal power had become as one. The latter view naturally fostered a spirit of nationalism in which love of country came to be equated with love of God. The threat of the Armada temporarily solved problems of religious conscience for many an Englishman. Shakespeare's Henry V is the apotheosis of that spirit, though it should not be assumed as representative of the playmaker's view. Macbeth, Richard III and 1 Henry IV savour richly of the old faith and of the dramatic devices exploited in pre-Reformation interludes.

Bishop Bale's output, what we know of it, probably gives a fair indication of the kinds of polemical piece played across the land. The truncated remnants of the other politically biased plays seem more modestly modelled upon the old-style interlude. Their faith, however, is assumed in their politics; the virtues are identified with the champions of the new order. Such is the case with Temperance and Humility (c. 1534-6),[54] and Albion Knight (c. 1537),[55] whose tone is predominantly, if not specifically, Protestant. Albion Knight has a pronounced political feel, what one commentator has described as "its Parliamentary atmosphere".[56] However, its central concern is apparently with equity and justice, which may well link it with ideas and events associated with the Pilgrimage of Grace,[57] while it also exposes the divisive aspect of that "polysie" first articulated in Medwall's Nature.[58] Dramatically, it is closely bound up with the conventions of "changes of name and costume as a theatrical device".[59] Iniury openly admits: "My name is called Iniury/ Whych name to hyde I

thonght /r̄ecte thought/ it polysie". Later, he instructs Division to personify the idea:

> "And when this message thou has done soberly
> Tell hym /Albion/ thy name is Polysy."[60]

Infidelitas, in Bale's Thre Lawes, has already adopted "polysy" in the present sense.[61]

The Four Cardinal Virtues[62] is particularly interesting as being, I believe, a play made at some time after Cromwell's fall by a playmaker of pre-Reformation humanist principles. Prudence, one of the virtues as also the positive aspect of policy, early beseeches the Trinity to

> "Conserue vs in grace our sou⟨l⟩s be neuer lost
> With helpe and intersessyo⟨ ⟩ of that mayden fre
> Mother to the seconde per⟨so⟩n in trinite."[63]

The reformers were not devoted to the Blessed Virgin. It is possible, too, that Wylfulness has been written with Cromwell in mind. Certainly, the piece expatiates upon good governance, which results from the exercise of reason. When Fortitude is freed from the shackles of "wylfulnes", he admits that: "Vuto /r̄ecte Vnto/ prudence and temperaūce I was vnkynde/ Also agaynst reason I wrought importunable"; a little later he warns that the four cardinal virtues

> "Ben often mysysed by reson of vyce
> * * * * * *
> But yet reason draweth to counsayle
> Vertuous opposytes, such vyces to peruert."[64]

ii Plays and Players in London

Plays and players also enliven the city of London, clearly so, since official censorship was a reaction to interludes and plays considered

questionable by the authorities. Who were the players and where did they play? The evidence is minimal but suggestive. The streets were open to performance in June, 1557, when Henry Machyn relates that "/b̄eing St. Olave's day, was the church holiday in Silver street; and at eight of the clock at night began/ a stage play of /ā goodly matter, that continued until/ xij at mydnyght, and then they mad an end with a g/ōod song./"[65] A venue frequented by players was Trinity Hall of the Church of St. Botolph-without-Aldersgate, whose Churchwardens Accounts first record "dyuerse players" in the last two years of Mary's reign.[66] The halls of livery companies are likely stage spaces. The election days of the livery companies were nearly always accompanied by music and singing, witness the records of the Merchant Taylors starting in the year 1549/50, when St Paul's boys obliged.[67] In 1569/70, "the waytes" took over.[68] Music also accompanied the elections of, for example, the Grocers Company, the Vintners and the Blacksmiths.[69] However, in 1539, the Drapers Company played host to "Thom^{a}s yely & h^{s} compeny the prynces players", while in 1557, "A Supper & Bankett" were "p'paired for the Ambassdo^{r} of Muscovia & Russia" graced "w^{t} melodye of mynstrelles & Int'lude of ⌜the Chyldren of powles⌝".[70]

In 1551-3, the Tallowchandlers pay 6^{s} to "players", while in 1557-9, "the players are identified as the 'Boyes of the hospitall' who performed 'the playe on Mondaie'."[71] By a curious coincidence, Henry Machyn writes that on 7 June, 1557, "be-gane a stage play at the Grey freers of the Passyon of Cryst"[72] - Corpus Christi Day fell on 17 June, so the choice of play is apt. What is startling is the phrase "at the Grey freers", for the church and site of the house of the Grey Friars had been granted to the city

by Henry VIII in 1547. The city had, in turn, raised funds, with the blessing of Edward VI, to found a hospital for destitute children which, in 1552, opened as Christ's Hospital under the Treasurership of Richard Grafton.[73] Could the boy actors entertaining the Tallowchandlers have been Christ's Hospital boys? And, if so, who was organising and directing them? Was "the Passyon of Cryst" an example of their work? Standard authorities like E K Chambers and T H Vail Motter make no mention of dramatic activities from this source. However, two facts are suggestive. First, an entry in the parish accounts of St Mary Woolnoth dated 8 September, 1557, records: "Paid to Tailour, the Clerk, Master of the syngyne children of the Hospital for him and his children, 16d."[74] The same "Tailour" later became choirmaster of the Westminster choristers (1561-7). Second, Vail Motter notes that: "The Minutes of Court of Christ's Hospital, under date of March 5, 1580, has this significant entry: 'Mr Sebastion of Paulls, is appointed to have Hallawaie the younger out of this House to be one of the singing children of the Cathedral Church of Pauls in this citie'".[75] In 1559-61, the Tallowchandlers pay the Master of the Children of Paul's, the ubiquitous Sebastian, "for their musicke and playeng of An Enterlude ($13^s\ 4^d$)".[76] It looks suspiciously as if Westcott, having found a new playing venue - not to mention a new source of financial remuneration - has also come upon "a nest of boys" from which to press chorister actors. Speculations aside, what is important is that boys are apparently providing entertainment for the big livery companies.

What kind of entertainment is being offered hosts and audiences? It is reasonable to suppose that professionals were, in the early years,

introducing new propaganda pieces, perhaps drifting back to the tried and true during the Marian reaction. I doubt, however, whether polemical plays really fitted the bill on election feasts. Matters of faith might affect the first day's memorial service; the celebratory banquet must surely have been a more unbuttoned affair. I would hazard the guess that pieces such as Wit and Science would have been too elaborate, that those akin to Respublica or King Johan were too politically loaded. There was, however, a new kind of didactic interlude centred upon the profligacy and irresponsibility of the young which would readily have gained the approbation of city elders striving not only to increase the city's prosperity but also to discipline and train recalcitrant apprentices to the same end. Interludes such as Nice Wanton, Lusty Juventus and Jack Jugeler immediately recommend themselves, plays with small casts written for boys, which show an appropriate moral concern but which also exploit the comic accretions over the years to the Vice figures. If they have a traditional air to them, there are subtle discords scored into the subtext to excite the sharp-eared adherents to the new faith. If I am right in my present surmises, it becomes time to look more closely at the activities of the boy actors and at those plays closely associated with them.

2. Drama in Tudor Education: At Court, in Town and in Schools

i. The Court and London: the Rise of the Choir Schools

Respublica (1553) is the one extant, fully-fledged Catholic attack upon the Reformation. How different it is from the propaganda plays of the reformists. More importantly for my purposes, it was made for and performed by boys at the court of Mary Tudor.[77] Much can be gleaned from

it, therefore, as to the kind of dramatic entertainment undertaken by boys at court. The prologue is full of suggestive phrases. Respublica is clearly a Christmas entertainment - "we that are thactours have ourselves dedicate/ with some Christmas devise your spirites to recreate" - given, possibly, on New Year's Day or thereabouts - "First helth and successe with many agoode newe yeare,/ Wissed vnto all this moste noble presence heare".[78]

The statement of the play's theme links it firmly with pre-Reformation dramatic forms.

> "But nowe of thargumente to towch a worde or twayne
> the Name of our playe ys Respublica certaine
> oure meaninge ys (I saie not, as by plaine storye,
> but as yt were in figure by an allegorye)
> To shewe that all Commen weales Ruin and decaye
> from tyme to tyme hath been, ys, and shalbe alwaie,
> whan Insolence, Flaterie, Opression,
> And Avarice haue Rewle in theire possession."[79]

It is cycle plays that reinforce faith "by plaine storye", interludes "in figure by an allegorye". Other factors confirm this impression. In the very next lines, the author talks of "these vices" gaining their ends "bycloked collusyon/ And by counterfaicte Names, hidden theire abusion",[80] which recalls the world of Skelton's Magnyfycence. The cast list is specific in its descriptions of character. Avarice is "the vice of the plaie", his cronies and helpmates are gallants, while the "fowre Ladies" who help restore the wronged Respublica are the selfsame "iiij dowterys" of The Castle of Perseverance,[81] "rythwysnesse" having here become Iusticia. They are presumably clad in similar garments of "wyth", "red", "sad grene" and "blake" and, just as the "iiij dowterys" round off the play in the presence of "PATER sedens in trono", so the "fowre Ladies" of Respublica assist

"...Marye our Soveraigne and Quene
to reforme thabuses which hithertoo hath been,
* * * * * * *
She is oure most wise/ and most worthie Nemesis."[82]

Humanum Genus it is who stands at the centre of The Castle of Perseverance. A warrant of Queen Mary's prior to her coronation authorises the Master of Revels to make over garments and furniture "vnto the gentillmen of owr Chappell for a playe to be played before vs at the feastes of owr coronacyon as in tymes paste haithe bene accustomed to be done by the gentillmen of the Chappell of owr progenitours".[83] The play has to do with Genus Humanum. A further warrant itemises the costumes provided. A cursory perusal establishes that colour plays an important role in the identification of virtues and vices - Self love and Disceate wear cassocks of "red breges satten"; Care has a cassock of "grene satten of breges", the colour of "Trewthe".[84] Avarice is clothed in the emblematic garb of covetousness, "purses that hange att my bakke". Respublica draws naturally upon the allegorical resonances and trimmings of pageants, disguisings and of the more elaborate moral interludes of the late fifteenth century.

The maker of Respublica also has an eye on the new style polemical interlude. The "Ynglond" of King Johan is the spouse of "god hym selfe". Respublica is "a wydowe", presumably because (to use a modernism) God is dead, or alive and living in Geneva. It will be the purpose of the play to symbolise the reconversion of the land to God's true ordinances. Mary, as Nemesis, reclaims People to the old faith and, in so doing, justifies her Divine Right to rule. It is a crucial point, subtly yet joyously made. The matter of "policie" is once again raised but, whereas for the Protestant Bale the evil resides in a lack of faith (Infidelitas), for the

maker of Respublica the misuse of policy is an active principle, divisive and injurious as in Albion Knight (see p.259) above). In this respect, the playmaker concentrates upon the socio-political implications and allows the religious to remain implicit. People speaks with a provincial accent reminiscent of those who had lately risen in support of the old faith. His simple honesty is offset by Avarice and his colleagues who in the guise of Policie, Authoritie, Reformation and Honestie are shown to have plundered the land "these yeres twyse twentye", beggaring both prince and people. Had Mary possessed something of the playmaker's tact, she might have been more successful in implementing her policies.

I have said already that Respublica was made for boys. The Prologue contains an interesting gloss upon the fact. It asks:

> "But shall boyes (saith some nowe) of such highe mattiers plaie?
> No not as discussers, but yet the book doth saie
> Ex ore infantium perfecisti Laudem."[85]

The graceful bow in the direction of Holy Innocents' Day is an acknowledgment of its place within the Feast of Fools. Similarly, boy actors are viewed "not as discussers", rather as vessels conveying meaning delightfully. The idea is immediately taken up, for just as "whan Criste came rydinge into Hieresalem,/ The yong babes with tholde folke cryed owte all and some", so

> "we children to youe olde folke, both with harte and voyce
> maie Ioyne all togither to thanke god and Reioyce
> That he hath sent Marye our Soveraigne and Quene
> to reforme thabuses which hitherto hath been."[86]

The implications of Advent, the Incarnation, Passion and Redemption, all are compressed within a few lines and linked to the coming of Mary Tudor. The Queen is presented as the saviour of her nation, as Christ made Man

was of His universal kingdom. The gaiety and exuberance of the Nativity and of Palm Sunday are contained within a single image, just as Redemption and Salvation are seen as a process involving both joy and pain. Divine Right is reaffirmed. Mary is established as Christ's surrogate, but the theatrical sleight of hand that effects it is deft, unlike the stern, often hectoring assertions of reformist playmakers. Delight repossesses entertainment and, significantly, it is boys that make it possible. We should not be too surprised. The author is clearly acquainted with Wit and Science, for the scene in which Avarice rehearses his underlings in their false names[87] resembles the hilarious episode in Redford's play when Idelnes attempts to instruct Ignorance.[88]

There is also a classical cut to Respublica. It falls neatly into five acts, while the fortuitous entrance of Nemesis smacks of dea ex machina. Though earlier interludes lay out the principal theme(s) near the beginning, Respublica's Prologue, unlike the unsmiling pronouncements of Baleus Prolocutor, follows classical practice in announcing its material. Most telling, perhaps, is the handling of the Vices, whose comings and goings are in the interlude tradition but whose antics and tone of voice are those of Roman comedy. Faced with the task of staging a piece of Catholic polemic, the author of Respublica has skilfully avoided the alienating effect of direct abuse and concocted a piece with a devastating after-effect. The trick is achieved by taking up once again the ingredients of pure entertainment and by entrusting them to the practised skills of boy actors. Respublica sails under the neutrality won by Wit and Science, while simultaneously firing lethal, anti-Protestant torpedoes. Quite a

feat. That constitutes the strongest argument for attributing so Catholic a play to a known Protestant sympathiser like Udall,[89] whose considerable experience of child actors will have helped him to the right mix.

Respublica is an exuberant mixture of old and new, Godly Quene Hester crossed with King Johan. It seems likely it was first performed by the children of the Chapel. It may even have been master-minded by Udall who, in 1554, is accorded by warrant "soche apperell for his Auctors as he shall thinke necessarye and requisite for the furnishing & condigne setting forth of his Devises before vs", namely, "dialogwes and Entreludes".[90] Faith, politics and drama are allied once again, with this difference only, that faith is politics and vice versa. Education in Tudor drama has by this stage reverted to former practice, having undergone a spell from 1534 to 1552 when it was forced on the road under a new guise devised for it by John Bale and his fellow religious.[91] The maker of Respublica absorbs the new tendencies into his work and demonstrates once again that developing dramatic activity is more truly nurtured at court, can safely be entrusted to those apt students of drama in education, the boy actors.

Respublica, I hazard, was presented by the Chapel children, though there is no very pressing evidence to confirm the belief. The "gentillmen of the Chappell" are authorised to play at Mary's coronation, but that is the only reference to them in the Revels documents of the reign. In referring to another document to do with the coronation play, Feuillerat writes that it "bears the mention 'Children of the Chapel' - which shows, by the way, that 'Children' and 'Gentlemen' were used synonymously".[92] I doubt if the point is strong enough to have a more general application. Certainly, the Chapel

children must, by then, have become experienced entertainers. Having peaked under Cornish' mastership, they continued to perform under the masterships of William Crane (1523-46) and Richard Bower (1545-61),[93] and are recorded as performing in 1538, 1539, 1540, 1548 and 1549, prior to the present occasion.[94] Meagre though the evidence is, they were undoubtedly an established feature of court festivities.

It is possible that Nicholas Udall called upon their services. He was a former schoolmaster who had won the Queen's favour and had been charged with the regular presentation of "dialogwes and Entreludes" before Her Majesty. At Christmastide 1554/5, "Nicholas vdall" made "certen plaies", though a glance at the accounts[95] reveals that the bulk of funds was expended upon the "masks", while "necessary charges" for the "plaies set owte by vdall" only covered "alteracion of garmentes for his Actours from time to tyme as he did occupie them". In other words, the costumes were from stock and less than pristine. Nevertheless, Udall could boast a good track record of involvement with boy actors. As headmaster of Eton (1534-40), he will have learnt from and contributed to the school's thriving theatrical life,[96] - under his guidance the boys acted before Cromwell in 1538[97] - while his own play, Ralph Roister Doister, written specifically for boys, had already been staged,[98] and had probably been seen by many of the royal entourage. His known connection with children's theatricals was, presumably, one reason why, though a Protestant sympathiser, he had attracted court patronage. I imagine, therefore, that a great (if not the greater) part of his exertions was on behalf of entertainments requiring boy actors.

The evidence of Edward VI's reign is in marked contrast. The king's

interluders enjoyed regular employment. They performed at Shrovetide in 1548 and 1549. In 1551/2, they played over Christmas on both 25 December and 6 January, topping and tailing the period of misrule.[99] This argues for a rather more sober and small-scale form of entertainment, or perhaps it was the material they presented which proved attractive. Otherwise, members of the court participated in masques and other courtly pastimes, the young king himself taking to the stage, in the company of the Duke of Suffolk and Lord Strange, in the first year of his reign.[100] The Rear Account to the Inventory of costumes of May, 1547, itemises 20 yards of "whyte clothe of Siluer playne...Cutt for a long gowne for a prest for the kinges grace to pley".[101] The same Inventory of costumes also lists "j Gowne of Tawny Tilsent newe for a Boye to play the profett with a prophettes cappe of Tilsent".[102] So it seems boy actors were in evidence and, possibly, on this occasion, playing with their monarch, for the coronation play cast included friars, an Italian, cardinals, the pope, priests and a prophet.[103] The play is clearly anti-Catholic. It is curious, however, that the young Edward was not cast in the role of the prophet who, presumably, was spokesman for the new heaven on earth. The emblematic effect would have been considerable. Edward, like most youngsters, probably felt there was more fun to be had playing a 'baddy'.

More significant, perhaps, is the presence at court of John Heywood. In 1552/3, the accounts record "xxiiij^{s}" paid to the draper, John Roberts, for "the making of xij cotes for the boyes in heywoodes playe". A summary list of masques and plays for the same year corroborates the entry - "A play of the state of/ Ierland and another of/ childerne sett owte by/

M^r haywood".[104] The work was almost certainly the play prepared for Christmastide, 1552/3, but postponed "tyll Easter and Maydaye nexte folowinge", the king having fallen ill. However, who were the boy performers? The St Paul's choir numbered ten. Were their ranks stiffened by scholars from Colet's school? Was it an even or an arbitrary mix? Heywood had close associations with the Coletine foundation.[105] Two further entries offer a considerable clue. In 1552, he had been present when a play was given before the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield, on which occasion the fee "towards the charge of the children with the carriage of the plaiers garments" was paid to "Sebastian" - Westcott, I presume.[106] Seven years later, with the Princess now Queen, Heywood was once again present at a lavish five days of amusement, at the palace of Nonsuch, between 5 and 10 August. On one of the nights Elizabeth watched "a play of the chylderyn of Powlles and ther master Se/bastian/, master Phelypes, and master Haywood".[107] It is surely more than just coincidence that, in the only two entries from the transitional period which record the St Paul's choristers acting before royalty, the name of Heywood should appear alongside that of their choirmaster. Unless one accepts as conclusive the evidence for a third performance by them in either 1554 or 1557, when one may assume their choirmaster was present but there is no mention of Heywood.[108]

Sebastian Westcott succeeded John Redford as choirmaster of St Paul's in 1547, though he was not confirmed in office until 1553.[109] Redford, as I have already conjectured, was a close friend of Heywood's, in whose company he undoubtedly developed his own dramatic skills. Redford was probably the catalyst in bringing together the other two; certainly, the

three men were good friends.[110] Westcott's career has been dealt with elsewhere with some thoroughness,[111] but most commentators concentrate upon his career from the time of the Nonsuch entertainment. In so doing, they fail satisfactorily to explain the sudden popularity of the Paul's children or to offer even a speculative assessment of their activities prior to that occasion. What were they up to? What kinds of plays were they playing? And before whom?

The Paul's choristers developed a range of skills under the mastership of Redford. Wit and Science is an impressive example of the kind of play they could tackle. Heywood's output represents other styles at their command. Westcott will have continued in the same tradition; there was, after all, no reason to change. Redford's play exploits the full range of available theatrical devices to present important matter in an uncontroversial manner, while Heywood fashions entertaining divertissements, whose asperities are contained and softened by the style and mode of presentation. He works, too, on a smaller scale. All three men were devout Catholics. Little wonder, therefore, that the names of Heywood and Westcott should be linked. Does this mean that, when, in 1552/3, Heywood is presenting his play with a cast of at least twelve boys before young King Edward, he is employing Westcott's charges? Is their choirmaster in attendance? There are no clearcut answers, though I make the very reasonable guess that they may both be answered in the affirmative. I further suggest that the uncertainties of the times persuaded Westcott, despite personal inclination and ambition, to concentrate upon musical activities and upon other outlets for dramatic activity. Hence the boys' apparently varied round of engagements in city circles, singing for the Merchant Taylors, singing and

playing interludes for the Drapers and Tallowchandlers companies. What versatile children they were.

News of their performance skills must, at some point, have filtered through to the Princess Elizabeth. How else explain their presence at Hatfield in 1552, on which occasion the not inconsiderable sum of £4.19s. was paid to Westcott both for the transportation of the boys and their costumes and for having them perform - the sum constitutes more than two-thirds of the total expenditure. During her sister's reign, Elizabeth's fortunes fluctuated alarmingly, being at their lowest ebb in the wake of the Wyatt uprising (1554), when she was confined to the Tower for a period. However, she effected an uneasy reconciliation with Mary in the Spring of 1555, after which she commuted with comparative freedom between Hatfield and the court.[112] Having sampled the skills of the Paul's boys, she was no doubt kept informed of their activities and will have registered the range and nature of the entertainments they were able to provide. I cannot believe the young Elizabeth starved herself of diversion at this time, and perhaps Westcott's charges were among the companies summoned to her presence. What the slender evidence of their doings does confirm is the ubiquity of their presence and, by inference, the diversity of their skills, which they presumably suited to each occasion, from participating in the revived Boy Bishop ceremonies on St Nicholas Day, 1554, before Mary "in her privie chamber at her manour of saynt James",[113] to singing and playing interludes before the city fathers. Amid the dramatic whirl, they continued to fulfil their musical obligations at the cathedral.

The boys of the choir school at Westminster are nowhere mentioned during the transitional years, though the continuing appeal of both the Chapel and Paul's chorister encourages the belief that their Westminster peers were similarly employed. The rich theatrical fare served up by the Elizabethan foundation of 1561 did not materialise out of the blue.

ii Drama at Winchester and Eton Colleges

The Winchester archives are mute on the subject of drama during the transitional years. No single entry offers a clue to current practice. When references recur, in Elizabeth's reign, it becomes clear that professional troupes have continued to visit the school and that plays at Christmastide have remained a feature of the dramatic life of the college. More important still, at some point the boys themselves have been allowed to take to the stage. However, these conclusions are deduced from later entries; they cannot be drawn from contemporary evidence.

The story at Eton is very different. The records are remarkably detailed and informative. They are ominously reticent about the years 1535-50, the troubled early period of the Reformation in England. Elsewhere, though, there is a glimpse of the Eton boys performing before Cromwell in 1538.[114] Thereafter, the accounts bear out fully the flourishing nature of drama at the college. The interlude is the preferred form - also described as "the Comedy"[115] - which continues to be presented "in the haull".[116] Outsiders are now admitted - "Itm a Barrell of beare spent vpon Strangers at the play in the haull, iiij^{s} vj^{d}".[117] By 1552/3, "ij plays" are being performed, one of them on "ye furst of January" upon a raised stage

which, as the next year's entries show, was decorated with "coverletes"[118] of paper sewn together with needle and thread. Two plays at Christmas becomes the norm, as subsequent entries confirm.[119] The plays were apparently well rehearsed since, in 1553/4, the boys went through two kilderkins (each 16-18 gallons) of ale in the process.[120] The earlier surmise that "Mr. Scolem^{r}" (the headmaster) was responsible for furnishings and drapes is now further clarified; apparatu lusorum[121] refers to the costuming of the show. There are detailed records of monies paid towards the mending of the old and the making of new costumes in the years 1550/1, 1552/3 and 1556.[122]

The sums disbursed towards costumes are generous, perhaps because among other considerations the costumes were intended to last. If one looks at the inventory of costumes of a later date (possibly as late as 1595),[123] a fair number of the items made in the 1550s will be seen to have survived. It is more difficult to fit them to any specific play though there are clues and pointers to the kinds of piece that may have been current at Eton. For instance, in 1552/3, John Serchefelde was paid "xij^{d}...for A booke of the Homolyes".[124] As there is a gap in the accounts between 1546-50, religious uncertainty may well account for the lacuna. Sins of ommission are less open to being misconstrued. The purchase of the Book of Homilies suggests that Eton was falling into line with the new practices. A number of interludes thus immediately recommend themselves as worth staging - Lusty Juventus, Nice Wanton, Jacob and Esau and Jack Jugeler. The costume entries are not very helpful in strengthening surmise. As T W Craik has observed, "the symbolic use of particular colours is often capricious, not to say arbitrary, in the Tudor interlude",[125] though red and black are

colours often associated with figures of evil or disrepute, while multi-coloured costumes are inevitably condemnatory. In this respect, a "black cloke" and a "half kirtell" of "redd sylke" (the colour of Disceate in Mary's coronation play about Genus Humanum) may have some significance. A "cloke" of "blew" guarded with "yallow" remains enigmatic in implication. Coats, cassocks, doublets, hose, jerkins, hats and "vysars" provide the mainstay of stock, and are equally well suited to both interludes and comedia erudita. The reference to "the Comedy" certainly holds good for Plautus and Terence, though Jacob and Esau is the only interlude so described, "A newe mery and wittie Comedie or Enterlude". As such, it defines "comedy" in a new context which is unequivocally Protestant.

Other extant interludes have descriptive titles which imply their amusement value. Lusty Juventus undertakes a "liuely describyng the frailtie of youth", Wealth and Health is "very mery and full of Pastyme", while Jack Jugeler is "both wytte, very playsent and merye". It is also, specifically, a "new Enterlued for Chyldren to play". Two players' garments are typical, "the vicesse Cote" and "a fooles cote" (1550/1);[126] they point clearly to the continuing appeal of traditional interlude figures. The "vicesse Cote" would sit happily upon Iniquitie (Nice Wanton), Hypocrisie (Lusty Juventus), Ilwyll or Shrowdwyt (Wealth and Health) or Jack Jugeler himself. Similarly, the "fooles cote" would seen appropriate for Jenkin Careaway (Jack Jugeler), or Ragau (Jacob and Esau). Insofar as these works perpetuate the comic stock in trade of an established tradition, they may justifiably be termed comedies,[127] especially since their dramatic form is essentially retrospective despite, for example, the Calvinist subtext to Jacob and Esau and the anti-Jesuitical

thrust of Jack Jugeler. Indeed, Lusty Juventus is thoroughly old-fashioned structurally, though reformist undertones colour its traditional harmonies; one reason, perhaps, why the unknown (multiple?) author of The Booke of Sir Thomas More has the Player offer the piece to Sir Thomas as a possible entertainment.[128] Its Protestant bias would certainly not have appealed to his fervent Catholicism. It is a good example of the later confusion over earlier form and content; or an acknowledgment, perhaps, that essential beliefs transcend the transient bickerings over modes of belief.

In 1555/6 and 1556/7, "mynstrelles" are rewarded for "ij nights", which would seem to link them to the seasonal playing. The entries are for Mary's reign, which probably indicates a return to a rather more elaborate staging than that required by the Edwardian interludes. The Eton scholars were well schooled in the classical humanist tradition and, while there is no record of their performing Ralph Roister Doister at this time, it seems unthinkable that so rumbustious a piece made by a former headmaster patronised by the monarch should not, at some point, have graced the Eton stage. Especially if one favours the view that locates its first performance at Windsor. It has a cast of thirteen and requires musicians and servants as extras. It is cast firmly in the mold of comedia erudita being based on specific plays by Terence and Plautus,[129] though it also generates a down-to-earth comedy which is in a direct line from Chaucer via Heywood. Its matter is wholly uncontroversial, yet the delineation of character is precise and socially aware. It is not so much the people as the plot which tends to outstay its welcome. The two minstrels would have considerably enhanced the many songs, one of them in four parts. The growing wardrobe could quite adequately

have clothed the players.

The performances continue to be given "in the haull", but, from 1552/3 onwards, it seems a raised stage is used - "Itm paide to Oliver the Charpenter for settinge vp the staige y^{e} furst of Januar', vj^{d}".[130] To the best of my knowledge, this is the earliest mention of such a stage being used in a school, though referring to William Lily, the first headmaster of Colet's school of St Paul's, Lily B Campbell notes that he

> "...came to the school after a sojourn in Rome under Pomponius Laetus and Sulpitius. It is difficult to conceive of one who had received his Latin training under the first editor of Vitruvius and under the first scholar to arrange Roman plays acted in the Roman fashion in a setting designed according to the precepts of Vitruvius, as returning to England and failing to make use both of the Latin play as a method of teaching Latin and of the Vitruvian principles of scenic representation of the drama."[131]

Certainly, Colet himself recommends Terence as an exemplar of Latin style, and under the aegis of their second headmaster, John Ritwise, the boys presented Phormio at court before Wolsey in 1528. The numerous masques and disguisings of the early Tudors called for elaborate settings, devices, machinery even. The manufacture of a simple raised stage would have amounted to a trifle. However, the absence of categorical evidence dissuades against fanciful speculation.

A remark of the Venetian Secretary, Gasparo Spinelli, writing to his brother in January, 1527, does, however, offer a crumb of comfort when he talks of "the Cardinal's gentlemen" reciting "Plautus' Latin comedy entitled the Menæchmi" on "a very well designed stage". Professor Wickham has offered a diagramatic version of a later occasion that year which assumes the hall floor as playing space with scaffolds for seating built on three

sides.[132] Thus "well-designed" may mean no more than elaborately decorated, as in Spinelli's description of the stage space for Terence's Phormio the following year:

> "The hall in which they dined, and where the comedy was performed, had a large garland of box in front, in the centre of which was inscribed in gilt letters, 'Terentii Phormio'. Then on one side were inscribed on paper, in Gothic letters, 'Cedant arma togae', and on the other, 'Fœdus pacis non movebitur'. Beneath the garland was written, 'Honori et laudi Pacifici'; with reference to the Cardinal, who is styled Cardinalis Pacificus. Other mottoes relating to peace were scattered over the other sides of the hall, such as, 'Pax cum homine et bellum cum vitiis'."[133]

The Eton "staige" may also only have consisted of seating stands given that "strangers" are apparently attending the school performances. I find this a less likely proposition unless, of course, the strangers were royal visitants from neighbouring Windsor. There appear to be raised stages at the universities by 1538/9. Perhaps undergraduates were merely reflecting schools practice. In the face of such uncertain evidence, it is best to stick to Professor Wickham's belief that, in the staging of interludes, there was no "regular call for elaborate machinery and loca",[134] but T W Craik's assertion that: "There is little evidence that raised platforms were set up in halls for interludes before the second half of the sixteenth century needs modification in the light of university practice. The Eton stage is prompt in its arrival.

iii The Plays

I have already dealt, in some detail, with the plays of John Bale and Respublica, and touched upon others in passing to a greater or lesser degree dependent upon context. There are a number manifestly performed by children, though it remains to be determined whether their inspiration

derives from a school environment or is dictated by quite other imperatives which, for their success, call upon the skills of boy actors.

Jacob and Esau is made to justify predestination, by contrasting the indiscipline of Esau - Isaac has spared the rod: as "A chosen man of God", he "shulde not be slacke in this" - with the passive obedience of Jacob, acquired through right education, which here means accepting that mother knows best. The shabby deception practised upon Isaac is throughout exonerated by references, at key moments, to the logic of predestiny. "Ah Esau, Esau", cries the anguished father, "An other to thy blessing was predestinate",[136] because, as the Poet explains in an Epilogue, "not all fleshe did he /God/ then predestinate". Rather, "All must be referred to God's election". It is

> "Our parte...first to beleue Gods worde,
> Not doubtyng but that he wil his elected saue:
> Then to put full trust in the goodnesse of the Lorde,
> That we be of the number which shall mercy haue."[137]

Lusty Juventus sets out to demonstrate that

> ".....in youth men maye be best,
> Trayned to vertue by godly mean,
> Vice may be so mortified and so suppresse
> That it shall not breake furth, yet y^e roote wil remayn:
> As in thys Enterlude by youth, you shal se playn."[138]

The panacea for a propensity to evil is faith.

> "For faith in Christes merites doth onely justify,
> And make vs righteous in goddes sight."[139]

Both plays dramatise doctrine, the one via a Biblical narrative cast in five acts, the other by exploiting the traditional interlude form.

Jack Jugeler is an altogether looser structure, seeming almost like a scripted improvisation. In fact, it is an anglicised version of Plautus'

Amphitruo, devised as a Christmas entertainment to be given by boys, for whom it is also an approved mode of relaxation from work.[140] The play charts the successful revenge wreaked upon Jenkin Careway by Jack Jugeler, the devil's minion, for a past slight. Jack appears as Jenkin's double, which perplexes the victim and causes him to endure painful exchanges with his master, his mistress and her maid. But "this trifling enterlud y^{t} before you hath bine rehersed/ May sygnifye sum further meaning if it be well serched", which has to do with "symple innosaintes" who "ar deluded/ And an hundred thousand diuers wayes".[141] What is being hinted at is no less than the subornation of the young by the Jesuits,[142] whose success in the educational field constituted a major triumph of the Counter-Reformation. To have expressed such views, however covertly, during a period of reaction was an act of boldness made possible, I would suggest, by having it performed by boys. The piece is directed towards literate adults; as such, it is more likely to have been a court piece. Since the subtext is its prime concern, it can hardly have been conceived for a schoolboy audience.

Nice Wanton is more nearly an archetypal school play. Though it is a melting pot for the accumulation of multiple dramatic tendencies, it is wholly original. It satisfies, too, the Bucerian criteria for drama in education.

> "The young (i.e. schoolboys and others undergoing instruction) will be able to take part in acting comedies and tragedies and thus provide their public with wholesome entertainment which is not without value in increasing piety."[143]

"Comedies" will show the "human thoughts, actions and fortunes...of everyday, ordinary people" - Nice Wanton certainly does that - "in the form of an entertainment that was valuable to the religious life". Tragedies can draw

upon the "godlike and heroic people" of the Bible, whose lives frequently illustrate what "Aristotle calls 'reversals of fortune'".[144] Bucer recommends a modest style which will not "subtract anything from the duty of edifying the audience", with the greater emphasis placed upon "the characters and natures of the men represented", as opposed to "their actions, emotions and passions". Literary niceties are to be eschewed in favour of plain tales. Finally, all plays are to be vetted by "men both outstanding in their knowledge of this kind of literature and also of established and constant zeal for Christ's kingdom".[145]

Nice Wanton is a short, sharp, simple tale of moral degeneration. Xantippe, a mother, has, like Isaac, spared the rod. Two of her offspring, Ismael and Dalila, have, as a result, gone to the bad, thus prompting a neighbour to pronounce that

> "Their parents maintain them in euil wayes:
> Which is a great cause that vertue decayes.
> For Children brought vp in idlenes and play,
> Unthriftye and disobedient continue alway."[146]

That is the primary theme. Ismael and Dalila run true to form upon their initial entry. They have truanted from school and, spurred on by Iniquitie, fall to dicing and singing bawdy songs. The Vice seduces Dalila into whoredom and transforms her brother into a violent felon. A third sibling, Barnabas, uncertainly treads the righteous path and pursues his schooling. In a moving scene, the diseased Dalila re-enters, her

> ".....flesh eaten w^{t} pocks,
> My bones ful of ache and great pain:
> My head is balde that bare yealow locks,
> Crooked I creep to the earth again."[147]

The "yealow locks" identify her with Eve; forced to "creep to the earth

again", she is presented as Satan's victim but also as the cause of Original Sin.[148] Like Chaucer's Troilus, Barnabas does not at first recognise her. On doing so, he does not pass by but undertakes to care for her "during your life" (which is to be short-lived), though he cannot resist some forty lines of 'I told you so'. Ismael is tried by the upright judge Daniel and condemned to hang. In what is a coda to the play, Worldly Shame brings Xantippe to the point of despair - "With this knife my self I will slay by and by". Barnabas' fortuitous intervention forestalls the deed. He exhorts his mother "to repent and beleeue...If you do euen so you need not to despair,/ For God wil freely remit your sinnes all".[149] In a final address to the audience, Barnabas reinforces the moral that many unfortunate children, "the more rueth", fall foul of evil "By negligence of elders and not taking pain". He, therefore, cautions "all parents to be diligent".[150] To the schoolboy audience he has this to say:

> "O ye Children let your time be wel spent.
> Apply your lerning and your Elders obay:
> It wil be your proffit an other day."[151]

Only in the last verse of a song appended to the play is there the slightest hint of a doctrinal imperative, for to love and fear God brings

> "After this life euerlasting blisse,
> Yet not by desart but by gift iwis,
> There God makes vs all mery."[152]

Nice Wanton is a taut little 'Lehrstück' advocating disciplined learning. Just as Erasmus and Thomas Elyot had inveighed against the laxity of parents in the upbringing of children, so, too, does the present playmaker. What is more, he steers clear of matters doctrinal while satisfying Bucerian principles of drama. Indeed, in highlighting the value of and the need for

a right education, embodied in the person of Barnabas, the author cannily catches the drift of many a campaigning reformer. Latimer, for instance, complains that a man

> "...scrapeth and getteth together for his bodily house, but the soul-health is neglected. Schools are not maintained; scholars have not exhibited; the preaching office decayeth. Men provide lands and riches for their children, but this most necessary office they for the most part neglect. Very few there be that help poor scholars; that set their children to school to learn the word of God, and to make a provision for the age to come /my italics/".[153]

Matters are not much better two years later (1552) when he grieves: "Truly, it is a pitiful thing to see schools so neglected, scholars not maintained: every true Christian ought to lament the same".[154] Other complainants are Thomas Lever and Bernard Gilpin.[155] Eton and Winchester continued to flourish, were unaffected by the educational shortcomings elsewhere. They had, however, proven ties with the local communities, for whose benefit plays were being staged in the college halls. Nice Wanton spells out the consequences of a dereliction of learning; in so doing, it will also have served as a reminder of the current state of education.

The works of Terence and Plautus were no doubt performed, thus combining learning with pleasure, and Ralph Roister Doister, I imagine, was staged at Eton. Not only was it an ideal vehicle for the young actors to deploy their classical training in an indigenous piece but its riotous spoofing of chivalric values,[156] which harks back to the world of the mendicant exempla, must have vastly entertained parochial audiences, thus affording them welcome comic relief from rather more indigestible fare. Such are the kinds of play, I believe, that graced the school stages. Meanwhile, chorister actors were participating in more elaborate presentations at court,

either neutral in tone or coloured by the appropriate religious bias dependent upon the faction in power. The Revels records offer glimpses of the kinds of piece; Respublica is an outstanding example of one. It is also probable that interludes like Jack Jugeler, with a subversive subtext, and Jacob and Esau or Lusty Juventus, which openly espouse Calvinism, were first performed at court, since, essentially, they address a literate, adult audience. That they were written for children to perform reinforces the fact of the children's ascendency in matters theatrical and points to the neutrality won for them by their masters which, ironically, also made them ideal carriers of dubious or dangerous material. Their finesse in performance must, paradoxically, both have brought out as it skated over the subtextual inferences.

I also think it probable that the professionals subsequently toured such pieces. Inevitably, the staging will have been cruder, the acting coarser, for, even if a company of players were to have understood the underlying subtleties, there would have been no question of a provincial audience doing so. However, the plays were surely written to fulfil a dual purpose; to instruct and please at court, while paying their way further afield. It is a lesson Shakespeare was quick to learn. In this respect, pre-Reformation practice endured.

3. Drama in Tudor Education: The Inns of Court and Universities

i. The Inns of Court

The drama of the Inns of Court is seen still through a glass darkly. The revels remain an outstanding feature of the legal year, a "compulsory

activity". All students

> "...were required to take part in the revelling which was a regular feature of the life of the Inns at this time. For the Inns prided themselves on the fact that the training in gentlemanly pursuits which they could offer was as valuable - and as valued - as their training in the law; and they sought to maintain the high standard they set by an elaborate timetable of revels which they insisted should be observed by all students."[157]

Playmaking and acting were noteworthy ingredients, while Wisdom and A Play of Love represent, I believe, two kinds of play which were popular. Members of the Inns undoubtedly made their own entertainment (see Chapter III), and not only at Christmas. In 1499/1500, the Lincoln's Inn Black Book notes "10s. paid to divers of the Society by order of the Governors for an interlude on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin" [2 February][158] - celebrations on this feast being known as Post-Revels. Travelling professionals were also welcome: at Lincoln's Inn in 1494/5 and 1498/9 ["the Prince's players" (lusoribus)],[159] and at the Inner Temple in 1522 and 1523,[160] on which latter occasion they were part of the Christmas festivities. The wording of the entry for 30 November, 1523, is suggestive - "...there shall be allowed for the society for players (istruonibus) as in the previous year, or at discretion". The meaning of "at discretion" implies, I take it, that, while the practice may not be traditional or customary, yet the hosting of professionals on celebratory occasions is permissible. Despite lack of evidence during the transitional years, it seems certain that major feasts continued to provide opportunities for all forms of revelling. The extraordinary variety of theatrical offerings at the revels of 1561, which also included the première of Gorboduc, was not born of a hiatus.

Two further important points need to be made. First, the urge to reform invaded the inner sancta of the Inns when three royal appointees,

the common lawyers Thomas Denton, Robert Cary and Nicholas Bacon, were commissioned to make recommendations for the reorganisation of the Inns and to plan a royal foundation that would humanise the predominantly specialist training.[161] Rhetoric, a heightened awareness and use of the vernacular, and a supportive literary background were to be the abiding features of reform, without undermining the paramountcy of common law study. The value of moots, like disputationes, was to be intensified. Sir Thomas Elyot's formidable chapter on the study of the law in The Book named the Governor is an exemplary resumé of contemporary thinking. The following passage admirably summarises the central issue:

> "And verily I suppose, if there might once happen some man, having an excellent wit, to be brought up in such form as I have hitherto written, and may also be exactly or deeply learned in the art of an orator, and also in the laws of this realm, the prince so willing and thereto assisting, undoubtedly it should not be impossible for him to bring the pleading and reasoning of the law to the ancient form of noble orators; and the laws and exercise thereof being in pure Latin or doulce French, few men in consultations should (in my opinion) compare with our lawyers, by this means being brought to be perfect orators, as in whom should then be found the sharp wits of logicians, the grave sentences of philosophers, the elegancy of poets, the memory of civilians, the voice and gesture of them that can pronounce comedies, which is all that Tully, in the person of the most eloquent Marcus Antonius, could require to be in an orator."[162]

The collapse of this admirable programme of reform in higher education is still being felt as late as 1557 when

> "...onlye the schule maysters in a maner do give and lerne us the preceptes of Eloquence: and every man for desire of luker and money, gothe in hand to studye the lawe. Whereof it folowethe, that all we be but as baabes, and cannot declare and expresse, that we have conceived in our minds."[163]

Nevertheless, the high intentions of the reformers must, in some measure, have rubbed off on members of the Inns. The disputative groundswell

of Gorboduc is not a flash in the pan. It may strike modern audiences as dull and prolix but, at the time, it argued an important point cogently in dramatic terms. It might also reasonably be assumed that it received an appropriate staging and that the acting achieved an impressive rhetorical control worthy of "them that can pronounce comedies". George Gascoigne's output is a not inconsiderable tribute to the educational influence of the Inns at this period.

The second important point relates to the prevailing unrest of the young of the age, which seemingly infected the student lawyers as well. The 1540s and 1550s were marked by "outbursts of insubordination" which were only partly explicable in terms of youthful high spirits. Like their peers among the Guild apprentices, they fell victim to "the benchers or senior lawyers", who made an "unrealistic attempt to confine professional opportunity to senior members".[164] Thus, a royal proclamation of 1546 "excluded continuing students of the law from early practice"; another the following year, while allowing members of eight years standing to practise in court, exluded them from Common Pleas. Restrictive practices were still current in Mary's reign. As with the apprentices, so with the young lawyers; liberation beckoned from the new faith. Religious convictions and anti-clerical attitudes nurtured at home and encouraged by education now strengthened and hardened into belief, as was the case with, for example, John Rastell, John Pilbarough and Simon Fishe. Sir Thomas More's son-in-law, William Roper, underwent a spiritual crisis which caused him first to embrace, then to renounce protestantism. His confusion and frustration typify that of others among his contemporaries at the Inns. It was only

the exceptional young lawyer, such as James Bainham, who was prepared to burn for his beliefs, though his case "best illustrates the early maturing of protestantism at the Inns".[165] In the course of Edward VI's reign, the new religion became entrenched so that it was able to survive repressive measures under Mary. Its survival is also attributable to the clannish tendencies of members, who were usually already tied into relational patterns that were familial, personal and professional - the More circle is a good instance. However, it did not prevent them adopting a classless attitude towards their co-religionists whose actions they supported, as in the case of Anne Askew, who could number Edward Hall of Gray's Inn among her legal friends. Influential though the new religion was among members below the bench, they probably constituted a minority, yet one which enriched and enlivened the doings of the new faithful and grew in strength internally. It is inconceivable that belief would not, in time, be reflected in the dramatic activities of the Inns.

ii. The Universities

The evidence of drama at universities is fuller. The relevant material shows Cambridge to have been the livelier institution, though prevailing tendencies are common to both. References to outside performers are minimal, and confined to New College, Oxford, where Cromwell's players visited in 1537/8 and "duo histriones" in 1541/2.[166] While this may not mean they ceased to visit, university men were undoubtedly more wrapped up in their own efforts, so that outsiders were probably something of an irrelevance. Besides, they may have felt, like John Christopherson, that

> "...y^e devil, for y^e better furtherance of heresy, piked out two sorts of people, that shuld in tavernes and innes, at commen tables, and in open streets set forward his purpose, as wel as false preachers dyd in the pulpit: that is to say, minstrels and players of enterludes."[167]

The ties binding drama to sermons still held fast, it seems. Christopherson was, however, an entrenched Catholic. The "false preachers" would have been less hostile to professionals carrying the Word abroad. Within the universities, humanist values still exerted their influence, which, allied to Bucer's guidelines to drama, constituted the fundamentals of dramatic activity. The changed circumstances of university education aided and abetted dramatic evolution.

Visitations of Cambridge (1549) and Oxford (1551) led to changes in the Statutes and the recasting of the curriculum. As regards the latter, there was a greater emphasis upon mathematics (in the first year of the arts course), dialectic, rhetoric (invaluable to the drama) and Greek. There took place a secularisation of the seats of higher learning hard upon the Chantries Act, which helped colleges augment their incomes so that they could now offer proper rewards to the fellows, who found themselves with greater scholarly freedom, and a more challenging education to a greater variety of students.[168] As Joan Simon says:

> "No longer did education seem proper only to clerks, preparing to gain a livelihood by their learning; on the contrary it was beginning to be regarded as the prerogative of men of birth. Reformers moreover daily reinforced the argument that gentlemen should prepare themselves to fill offices of state, leaving the clergy free to preach and serve their cures."[169]

Poor scholars, however, found the going rough. Reformers repeatedly rang the changes on this theme: Thomas Lever grieves that "a small number of poore godly dylygent studentes nowe remaynynge only in Colleges be not able to tary and contynue theyr studye in the vniuersitye for lacke of

exibicion and healpe";[170] Latimer constantly complains of the inability of the poor to study.[171] However, colleges were warned that "in the election of fellows and scholars, the sons of poor persons, being apt and of good abilities, are to be preferred to the sons of rich and powerful persons".[172] Cambridge proved the more go-ahead in implementing a change of attitude. The more conservative Oxford was sent visiting intellectuals of the reformed faith to create a climate of change, men like Peter Martyr and Martin Bucer, whose remains Christopherson was later to have taken up and burnt during the Marian reaction.[173]

The dramatic records reflect a corresponding pattern. The performance of classical plays as an educational method was already well established on the continent, one reason undoubtedly why Bucer should wish to harness the notion to reforming zeal. The device is certainly taken up at the English universities. The Statutes of St John's (1545) and Queens' Colleges (1546), Cambridge, for example, advocate the regular performance of classical plays; at the former, "ceteras comoedias et Tragoedias quae inter Ephiphaniam et Quadragesimam aguntur",[174] at Queens', "quotannis inter 20 Decembris diem et Quadragesimae initium, in Aula Collegii duas Comoedias sive Tragoedias curent agendas", under the aegis "Graecae Linguae Professor, et etiam Examinator".[175] At Christchurch, Oxford, from 1554 onwards, two comedies and two tragedies were to be an essential part of the Christmas activities, "'of the w^{ch} fower playes there shall be a Comedy in Lattin & a Comedy in Greek and a Tragedie in Lattin and a Tragedy in Greek'".[176] The Cambridge evidence chronicles the success of such advocacy. St John's put on Aristophanes' Plutus;[177] Queens' staged Plautus' Penulus and Stichus;[178]

Trinity presented Aristophanes' Pax directed by the famous Dr John Dee, under-reader in Greek, Plautus' Menaechmi and Seneca's Troades,[179] though where the latter are concerned the Bursar's accounts pay "M^r Rudde for his playe" and "M^r Malham for his playe", which could mean that either the said gentlemen translated or directed the plays, or wrote their own adaptations. The performance of Gammer Gurtons Nedle, at Christ's, c. 1553, two years after Menaechmi, strengthens such speculation. These named works apart, Queens' regularly performed comedies between 1540/1 and 1553/4 and at least four tragedies, while from its foundation Trinity boasts classical plays among its annual presentations. Christ's records two tragedies (1537/8 and 1552/3) only, though plays feature regularly. King's is notable for Christmas plays (ludi natalis), probably of a conservative and safe kind. In 1554, the college does not hesitate to pay one Carleton "pro labore in conuertendis tunicis hystrionum in vestimenta ecclesie".[180] At Oxford, Exeter College records two comedies played in Lent 1548 and 1551,[181] while Magdalen presents at least eight comedies and seven tragedies between 1537-1554.[182]

If the unnamed tragedies and comedies were not classical, then there exist a few texts to suggest what other kinds of play may have come under the description, while there are contemporary references to others to fill out the picture. Thersytes (1537) is a comedy or "Enterlude" which "Dothe Declare howe that the greatest boesters are not the greatest doers".[183] It has been identified as an Oxford play and ascribed to the year 1537, when it was almost certainly performed over Christmas.[184] However, the work poses a number of riddles, the question of authorship being one - at least one commentator has argued for Nicholas Udall.[185] However, it is not a name so much as the attributes of the playmaker that are of interest. He is a literate man, humanist by inclination, at home

with the classics - he knows his Iliad and confidently casts his play in the form of Roman comedy. He is conversant, too, with his own literature, alluding freely to a legendary medieval past - "Arthur", "Gawyn", "syr Launcelot de lake"; and catching the tone of the mendicant world - Thersytes is a braggart compounded of Roman and indigenous traits, his mother practises a mild form of witchcraft, and chivalry, surely is being parodied. Why else the Arthurian allusions? The setting is domestic in the tradition of Heywood's last three plays, Ralph Roister Doister and Gammer Gurtons Nedle, both shortly to be performed. The ingredients for playmaking are, in a word, eclectic. It seems, moreover, that the writer has chosen to graft these ingredients onto the Thersites of Ravisus Textor,[186] whose Dialogues were popular in their day and almost certainly used in the universities. Queens', Cambridge, expended "xj^{s} vij^{d}ob...circa actionem dialogi textoris" on 15 January, 1543. The "viij^{d}" recorded on 22 February as paid to Master Perne "pro picto clipeo quo miles gloriosus vsus in comœdia" may well mean that the Dialogue was Textor's Thersites.[187]

The play is written with the young in mind. Thersytes is himself a youth - Mulciber dubs him a "peuysshe ladde" - tied to his mother's skirts, behind which he takes refuge in flight from Miles. His foolishness is the reverse of Quixote's; his age, at the other extreme, makes it reprehensible. Mater, approving of the well-mannered young Telemachus, notes:

> "Ywys it is a proper chylde
> and in behauiure nothinge wylde
> Ye maye see what is good education
> I would euery man after this fasshion
> Had their children vp broughte

then manye of them woulde not haue bene so nonghte*
A chylde is better vnborne then vntaughte,"[188]

* /r̄ecte noughte/

while Miles, in his final address to the audience, enjoins:

"to youre rulers and parentes, be you obediente
Neuer transgressinge their lawefull commaundemente."[189]

The affinity with Nice Wanton is strong: the admonition to obey "youre rulers and parentes" argues for a slightly more mature audience, undergraduates, many of whom will doubtless enter the service of the state in accordance with the new climate of belief. There is plenty, however, to engage younger spectators - the battle with the snail, the encounter with Miles, Thersytes initial challenge to the onlookers to stand up and fight, the incantations intended to cure Telemachus' worms.

Which brings me to the final riddle. If the Oxford accreditation holds good, and if the eclectic ingredients, the Plautine form and the debt to Textor bespeak an academic playmaker, presumably the piece was first given before an undergraduate audience. Yet a substantial part of Thersytes' first address to the audience is directed at a woman "who hathe me tolde that gone was her maydenhead, at thrustene yeare olde".[190] Since she was unlikely to have been an exception (as a member of the audience, that is), who were these women who could accept coarse jesting in the right spirit? On at least two occasions at King's Cambridge, in the late fifteenth century, "performances evidently involved the wives, and in one case the daughter, of employees, tenants, or friends of the college",[191] while at Exeter, Oxford, in 1548, "6s 8d was paid for the expenses of acting a comedy in public",[192] which I take to mean before outsiders, since in one

sense all performances are public. Two other factors are suggestive. The piece is a mere 916 lines and can be performed by four men and a boy. Although the stage directions require that "Mulciber goeth into his shop, vnty11 he is called agayne" and that "the mother goeth in the place which is prepareth for her",[193] this may mean no more than that in the first instance one of the exits is identified with the smith, while in the second an area of acting space defines Mater's abode, possibly by a second exit such as was common to college halls. In other words, Thersytes resembles such interludes as Hyckescorner (1028 lines), Mundus et Infans (975 lines) and Bale's Johanes Baptystes (492 lines), all of which were made to tour. It may well have originated in and been first performed by scholars in a college hall, but it was also made for public consumption - for profit, perhaps? - and assumed from the start a mixed audience. Here is a play written in the light of Heywood's three 'professional' pieces, which throws its own light into the future. The witches in Macbeth may brew a more hideous potion but do so in the manner of Mater, while the Parolles of All's Well that Ends Well owes not a little to this early Thersites, who might also be thought to provide an interesting gloss upon Shakespeare's depiction of him in Troilus and Cressida.

About William Stevenson's Gammer Gurtons Nedle much has been written,[194] so that it is unnecessary to rehearse again its virtues and apparent shortcomings. The play's five-act structure and its setting of a street with the exteriors of the Dames' houses derive from Roman comedy. In all else it is quintessentially English, a provincial domestic comedy built around the loss of a "neele", which exploits to the full both the robust

vernacular and the rough and tumbling skills of a known and loved tradition of indigenous drama. The plotting is tight, the scatology intrinsic to the revelation of the needle's resting place.[195] New to the stage is the inspired use of off-stage sound, as when Hodge blows upon the embers that are Gyb's eyes, or Dr Rat is brain-panned in Dame Chat's hen coop, or when, at the play's beginning, the sounds of lamentation and lackaday provoke the spectators curiosity. The varieties of entry are strange and hilarious; people stoop, crawl, rush on, sidle, or emerge, like Dame Chat, to stand ominously prepared to do battle. The participants are deftly sketched, defined by both their words and deeds with, at the eye of the brouhaha, the devious wits of Diccon, the Bedlem. No religious or homiletic imperative steers the piece; it is exultantly secular. Yet its heritage is pervasive. Diccon may here be no more than a "false knaue", but he is Hyckescorner secularised, updated and modified. For individuals to indulge obsessively in the trivia of their lives is to leave themselves prey to exploiters, which, in a religious context, accounts for the degeneration of many a protagonist of earlier interludes. In a flourishing community, members should labour to mutual advantage. A community that can be fractured by a Diccon is ripe for dissolution, a moral not without point c. 1553. Autolycus' role in The Winter's Tale is not dissimilar; he is Diccon's heir.

If Gammer Gurtons Nedle is at all representative of mid-sixteenth century university "comœdiæ", then scholars drawn to the drama were fortunate in what they saw, in what they could perform in, and in having an exemplary model upon which to fashion their own work, if playmaking

was what drew them. Is there something of Diccon in Puck?

David Bevington believes that Thersytes and Stevenson's play are comedies of relaxation which "were intended for public school or university, where they could take advantage of the ivory tower",[196] which is surely to underestimate both kinds of institution. While the plays may have provided effortless enjoyment and fun, a contemporary audience, recognising their antecedents, will have absorbed the innate moral stance as if by osmosis. The persistence of their values is enshrined in a later age; Diccon and Autolycus I have already alluded to, and Beaumont's The Knight of the Burning Pestle is a free reworking of the anonymous Thersytes. In a world where a belief in God was crucial to life, whatever the nature of that belief, moral and ethical principles, however slight, were bound to preoccupy individuals, especially in a society where belief and the cultural continuum constantly crossed boundaries. This was also true of the Victorian age, when Melodrama came to fulfil a similar function. Nor has that exuberant mixture of enjoyment and instruction, however discreet, lost its power to engage and edify audiences over the centuries, as recent performances by The Medieval Players of Gammer Gurtons Nedle have demonstrated with resounding success.[197]

The "ivory tower" view is also untenable where more serious offerings are concerned. Kirchmeyer's Pammachius, performed in Lent 1545, at Christ's College, Cambridge, gave rise to a brisk correspondence, with acrimonious undertones, between Bishop Stephen Gardiner and Dr Matthew Parker,[198] vice-chancellor of the university, whose sympathies were protestant. It vividly mirrors the underlying clash of beliefs and the

degree to which drama was a part of current events. The "tragedy", which identified the Pope with Antichrist and in which "untruth is so maliciously weaved with truth, as making the Bishop of Rome, with certain his abuses, the foundation of the matter", was played by "the youth of the house...against the mind of the master there and the president". It is a tale of bitterness and recrimination, which was finally referred by Gardiner to the Council, who exonerated the bishop's informant and left Parker "to do, for reformation of those that have misused themselves in playing of the said tragedy, as to your wisdoms shall be thought requisite".[199]

Other "tragedies" given at the universities[200] are less controversial but wholly in accord with the new religious imperatives. In taking their themes and protagonists from Biblical sources, they prefigure Bucer's pronouncements. Nor are the political realities ignored. The Jephthah story, with its central message as to the folly and consequences of rash vows, was taken up by John Christopherson.[201] He wrote in Greek and, guided by the example of Euripides, fashioned a taut and economical piece with an unquestionable dramatic momentum. The theme is clearly stated in the opening moments prior to Jephthah's exile:

> "Strife is insatiable, it augments woe;
> Little by little among mankind it rears
> Its crest until it reaches heaven's vault.
> Therefore, farewell to strife."[202]

Sound rule or government is one solution but, "To rule well", Jephthah asserts, "thou must rule thine own desires". His predicament follows upon the failure to observe his own dictum so that, as the Chorus comments on the final page, "a vow at random made oft ends in ruin".[203] The use of the chorus and the ordering of events is masterly. The Messenger's speech

on the defeat of the Ammonites is gorily picturesque and well sustained, in much the same vein as (though lengthier than) the bleeding Captain's description of "brave Macbeth". Yet the classical form is, to some extent, wrapped around essential features of the moral interlude, clues to which fact are to be found in the dialogues between the first and second Elders (a snappy dispute upon the characteristics of a wise ruler) and Jephthah and his wife (upon the theme of obedience towards God), and in the wide use of proverbs or saws. "Measure is treasure" is the unspoken moral, which is not wholly surprising given the author's fierce Catholicism, his belief in the destructive tendencies of the new faith. However, its classical garb ensures its neutrality; its use of Greek focuses its sphere of influence.

More significant still, for the drama, is the career of Nicholas Grimald,[204] a Cambridge graduand who moved to Oxford where he was resident, at various times, in Brasenose, Merton and Christchurch. Christus Redivivus was staged at Brasenose, probably in 1541, Archipropheta[205] at Christchurch c. 1546. The plays are not controversial, dealing, as they do, with the Resurrection and John the Baptist, with the Redeemer and the prophet of His coming. Their Biblical origins are contained by a classical mold. The Christus, however, provokes further speculation both about the nature of university plays and of their staging. In a lengthy epistle to the dedicatee, Gilbert Smith, Archdeacon of Peterborough, Grimald not only establishes the play's initial staging at Brasenose but also that

> "...it happened by chance that the youth of the community /of the college/ were eager to enter the field of drama, that they might stimulate their minds, and that they might give some representation of life to the citizens."[206]

The fellows and

> "...many excellent young men of very great promise urged me to entrust to them my production for presentation on the stage, and to dedicate and devote my exertions to them for this purpose. As it seemed hard for me to deny them, since they were making so excellent a request for things worthy of their talents, I gave my full consent to have this comedy performed publicly, and that, too, in a circle of the most learned men."[207]

The subject matter, though serious, Grimald calls a comedy.

The verification of public performance is important. L R Merrill muses that: "It would be interesting to know something of the production of the play at Brasenose College, but no records in regard to its production have been preserved there".[208] However, faced with the task of projecting a Latin text upon spectators of varying literacy, of illiteracy even, there was only one possible solution, which was to exploit the emblematic paraphernalia of known traditions such as pageants, progressions and cycle plays. Grimald himself implies this when he quotes the view of his tutor, Aerius, that "the scenes /of the play/ were not so far apart but they could easily, and without trouble, be reduced to one stage setting".. Aerius also describes the play as a "tragi-comedy" and recommends it because, among a list of virtues, "the great things had been interwoven with the small, joyous with sad, obscure with manifest, incredible with probable", while "the metre of comedy, almost that of Terence, was preserved",[209] an interesting observation given that Grimald followed Plautus, "whose play, the Captivi, above all, is represented as taking place during an interval of several days, and passes moreover from a sad beginning to a happy ending",[210] which is also true of Christus Redivivus. Plautus' play[211] is, for him, remarkably free of sexual trappings, concerned primarily with the theme of unselfish heroism as epitomised in the relationship of mutual trust and

affection between Philocrates and Tyndarus, between master and servant. The unaccustomed moral rectitude appealed to reformist educators, despite the play's artistic shortcomings. "Its construction abounds in rough edges and loose ends, arbitrary coincidences and inexplicable short cuts",[212] while the formal imbalance is compounded by the obligatory comic turns of the 'parasite' figure, here imposed upon Tyndarus. Grimald's piece is a not dissimilar freewheeling history, whose structure is dictated, willy-nilly, by the New Testament events, but he is more successful in uniting the comic and dramatic elements. Although his four soldiers may owe something to Miles Gloriosus, they continue the tradition of figures nearer home; of, for example, the four Torturers in the Towneley 'Crucifixion', and of the Vices of pre-Reformation interludes - Dromo, Dorus, Sangax and Brumax each introduces himself in a substantial monologue.[213] Played up front suitably costumed and with a gestural extravagance aping the seasoned professional, the four undergraduate actors had every chance of breaking the language barrier.

Grimald's "comedy" is a compound of available theatrical styles. He recycles the symbols of spectacle to revive, in dramatic terms, a powerful unaligned Christianity (as one would expect of someone whose allegiance to any one faith appears to have been Janus-faced).[214] It is that aspect of his work which links him more surely with the elaborate entertainments presented to Elizabeth I on her visitations of Cambridge (1564) and Oxford (1566).[215] He adopts a via media to establish a form as unexceptional as the entertainments of the boy actors at court. That the universities were not unaware of the circumstances of drama at court may be deduced from a letter of three Privy Counsellors of Mary Tudor's, who wrote to the then Master of

Revels, Sir Thomas Carwerden, requesting him to allow "the fellos and scholars of the new College yn Oxford" to "boroe out of the Revells certayne sutes of apparell as be heare vndernethe mentyoned" for "a learnyd Tragedye" they intend to "sett foorthe...thys Chrystmas". The letter was written between 1553 and December 1556. The piece is, by inference, a political play, the cast including "Thre kynges", "two dukes", "sixe Cowncelers", and a "yonge prynce"; a forerunner of Gorboduc, perhaps.[216] At any rate Grimald's are the only works that offer a faint glimpse of the nature of serious plays at Oxford other than the classical tragedies. Much the same may be said of Christopherson's Jephthah as regards Cambridge. Roger Ascham praises Thomas Watson's Absalon,[217] but it is impossible to glean any precise idea of the piece. He himself made a translation of Philoctetes, in 1542. He set out to imitate Seneca, while attempting, in every verse, to render in Latin the exact metre used by Sophocles,[218] all of which may tell us something about the St John's circle but sheds little light upon the university at large.

In the matter of practical stagecraft, there is a clearcut line of development. Yet, again, informative entries are more frequent at Cambridge than at Oxford. Both universities responded to the prevailing influence, namely, that of the renascent classical theatre. As early as 1522/3, at Queens' College, Cambridge, Richard Robyns, a carpenter, was paid "iij^{d}... pro labore suo quum agebatur comedia Plauti",[219] while at Christ's "xij^{d}" was expended, in 1532/3, "for setting vp y^{e} stage for y^{e} play & for naylles", and again in 1534/5.[220] In 1539/40, "the Lorde in Chrystynmes" at the same college spends "viij^{s} viij^{d}...for players garmẽtes", a responsibility which

was probably common to all colleges committed to presenting plays. St John's records offer corroborative evidence. An indenture dated 1548 ordains that:

> "Plaiers Apparell lieng in thre great Cofers in the Masters Chamber comitted to the Custodie of mr Thomas Lever /the preacher, no less/ bi Indenture according to the decree of the master and the xij Seniors Al the which Apparell is appointed bi the said mr & xij Seniors to be pserved & kept from yere to yere of him which shalbe Lord in Christmas And so the said Lord to deliver the same apparell bi Indenture to his next Lord succ[e]ssor."[221]

The indenture is one of a number of recently rediscovered documents which extend knowledge of drama at St John's. They mostly itemise costumes in stock and confirm the prevalence of Roman comedies, though there are residual traces of older forms. Drama continues to heighten the period of seasonal release.

Detailed accounts for the year 1540/1 at Queens' refer to "scenam in aula pro comedijs agendis". There are steps leading up to the stage and a painted banner.[222] By 1545/6, some form of houses is being set up, possibly three-dimensional, presumably to demarcate the exteriors of the various lodgings of comedia erudita - "pro erigendis domibus eiusdem comœdiæ".[223] Again, confirmation of sorts is provided by a St John's folio dated 10 March, 1546, which lists

> "In the great Chamber at the end of the hall, A portall of Wainscott
> It hangings of owld red sai
> It a table ij trestells & ij formes"

A second list, of the contents of 'the middle Chamber', also includes "a portall of wainscott" and "a table & ij trestells And oñ forme"[224]. Such moveable doors could presumably be built into a three dimensional setting

while also creating a space between them and the screen proper, where actors could rest, await entry or don costume. The St John's stage would seem to have been most impressive about this time, if Ascham is to be believed. After visiting Antwerp, in 1550, he writes as follows to his friend, Edward Raven:

> "Splendida magnificaque structura sic eminet, ut eo modo superet reliquas omnes urbes quas ego vidi: quemadmodum aula Divi JOANNIS theatrali more ornata post natalem seipsam superat."[225]

A fuller description amplifying the St John's and Queens' evidence occurs in the Christ's accounts for 1551/2:

> "It' to y^{e} carpent' for removing y^{e} tables in y^{e} haull & setting y^{em} vp agein wth y^{e} houses & other things paid xij^{d}"[226]

At Trinity, in 1556/7, William Hardwyke was paid for "mending formes & makynge howses for y^{e} players".[227] By the end of the period, raised stages and screens are an established fact at Cambridge.

At Oxford, slenderer evidence nonetheless reinforces the practice of its rival. There is mention of a "proscænium" or raised stage at Magdalen in 1538/9,[228] and of a "theatrum", which I take to be the same, in 1553/4, 1556/7 and 1557/8.[229] The latter term may well signify the whole ambience including scenery, since the use of a screen is mentioned earlier, in 1550/1 and again in 1552/3.[230] Moreover, the Exeter College entry already alluded to records that "5s 3d was paid to Doyle who painted what was needed for acting comedies".[231] At New College, in 1552/3, "iiij^{d}" is expended "pro purgandis aedibus post ludos",[232] which would seem to indicate the use of houses built out from the screen, as at Cambridge.

Of machines there is no record at Oxford. At Cambridge, however, there are two interesting references to add to the well-known description of a machine devised by John Dee for a performance of Aristophanes' Pax at Trinity, in 1546, which had

> "Scarabaeus, his flying up to Jupiter's palace, with a man and his basket of victuals on her back: whereat was great wondering, and many vain reports spread abroad of the means how it was effected."[233]

In 1551/2, a deus ex machina was prepared at Queens' for the performance of a tragedy by one Josselyn. John Pople was paid for three days' labour "in fabricando le frame pro coelo ante ludos" and later "pro erectione coeli". He was assisted in his work by one of the Kynge family - "in eadem machina exedificanda".[234] Finally, in 1552/3, two performances of a play staged at King's required "gūne powder" to be shot "p factura fulminis".[235] Not exactly a machine, perhaps, but an equivalent device.

The flourishing nature of drama at the universities must, to some degree, be attributed to the healthy dramatic climate in schools. Not for nothing did Magdalen College, Oxford, fight hard, in 1551, to retain its choristers.[236] The college also has the fullest records of drama at the university during the troubled transitional years. However, the universities had a distinctive theatrical life of their own which, while it benefitted from the experience of former schoolboys, developed along lines laid down by a range of imperatives, prime among them being the lure of a place at court or within the government, which undoubtedly caused an aspirant to tread a wary path, whatever his belief. The drama reflects this air of caution. Old style nativity plays persisted (St John's) alongside polemical attacks upon the old order (Pammachius). Classical tragedies

and comedies were played apparently in what passed as their original mode of presentation. Meanwhile, the classical forms became the molds within which to shape novel tragedies peopled by Biblical figures, both in the classical languages and in the vernacular, and indigenous comedies primarily of a domestic kind. In the latter instances, playmakers drew upon dramatic resources regardless of origin. What is noticeable is their avoidance of outright controversy. When the new religious imperatives inform their work, they tend to assert faith, to preach by example rather than bludgeon belief. There were both public and private performances. At both kinds of function, a raised stage, a screen and houses soon came to be used, ample funds being available, as ever, for costuming the players. The high points of the Church's calendar remained still the occasions of heightened dramatic activity. All the signs are of business as before, but with a sharpened awareness of the legion religio-political pitfalls for the unwary. Men reared in the school of reason preferred caution to being burnt to a crisp. The choirboy actors were fortunate in enjoying a neutrality won them by their masters. Schoolboys opting for higher education had a further gauntlet to run, where dramatic practice was still in the process of being forged.

5. Conclusion

It would, I think, be true to say that, by 1558, the middle classes and the ambitious from all walks of life had a clearer idea of what they might achieve and how they might achieve it. The accession of Elizabeth I was the signal to move into action. Those of an older generation, who had helped Henry VIII and Cromwell carry through the Reformation in England or who had subsequently benefitted from the various depredations, sought to

create a stability that would allow them to enjoy and capitalise upon their rewards and to continue to exercise an authority that would maintain it. A reformed faith, stable government and educational opportunity, these were the ideals. Thomas Norton and Thomas Sackville are typical products of such aspirations, Gorboduc a fitting political morality. The younger generation tended to feel hemmed in and held back by their elders, to dream and strive after a greater freedom, thus to favour more extreme changes in both the religious and the secular spheres. For all that, their unrest was sporadic and unfocussed, their revolt clandestine. They, too, looked to the future; to survive the uncertainties of the times became the paramount goal. Those of both generations who suffered and died for their convictions were exceptional individuals such as illumine any period of change and upheaval. The poor and oppressed remained so. The majority also continued confused and disorientated, clinging to the essentials of the old faith, while practising the new when compelled to do so, but probably seeing little difference between the two except in the lack of that ceremonial which had previously given strength and credibility to belief. The new Kingdom of Heaven was decidedly monochrome.

Such colour as brightened the diurnal round of the vast majority was still to be found in the drama. Although it had been pressed into the service of polemic and propaganda, not all the plays can have been as dull as Bale's 'cycle' trio - the Thre Lawes is altogether more racy, a downmarket reworking of Wisdom. The more politically aware interludes - hardly more than torsos survive - differ little from their pre-Reformation forerunners. The old forms were harnessed to new beliefs; the professional interluders were

charged with taking the resultant vehicles among the populace at large. The fact that local documents often record the persistence of genuinely old dramatic traditions would suggest that the revised versions were less effective than their promoters hoped. Much would depend, in any case, upon the attitude of local officials and the state of mind of the performers. The rise of state control of drama is proof of the central government's uncertainty in such matters. The most successful plays were, I imagine, those of a moral nature whose didacticism had a universal appeal and whose religious stance could be taken as read, whether above or between the lines, plays like Nice Wanton, Lusty Juventus and Thersytes. They were also associated with schools and universities, where ties already existed between town and gown, secure in the case of schools, in the process of being strengthened at the universities. The drama in education now more directly fuelled the education in drama, shunting the professionals even further along the branch lines. Meanwhile, the boys from the choir schools maintained their grip upon court entertainment, bringing glamour and expertise to such different works as Respublica, Ralph Roister Doister and Jacob and Esau, while the Paul's boys, in addition, entertained the city fathers, one foot firmly planted in each camp.

There is every indication of a rich theatrical life steadily evolving amid the stresses and strains of rival beliefs and political manouvring during the period under review. The evidence may often seem meagre but its implications are sure. The zeal of reformers could not sweep away all the trappings of the old order; how could it when they were exploiting them to their own ends. Besides, their devotion to the truth of the Bible ensured

that the rudiments of the Christian faith, whatever the mode of worship, gained a greater authority in the reiteration. Fundamental moral and ethical values once again invigorated the minds and hearts of ordinary folk, strengthened foundations and formed a bridge from the nation's past to its future. Besides, visual emblems lodged in the theatre of the mind could not be erased merely by willing it. The lure to educated men of a renascent classicism, together with its humanist accoutrements, showed them how they might conduct their lives along principles unaffected by doctrinal contumely, encouraged objectivity, and incited a whole-hearted commitment to the affairs of the material world. To create a theatre that could span these twin dynamics was to hit the jackpot. Shakespeare and the Globe are the symbols of that success, but it was not created out of nothing. It has been the purpose of the present study to disabuse the many who still believe the apotheosis of Tudor drama to be a phenomenon of the latter half of the sixteenth century and of the first half of the seventeenth. Rather it is a story, which stretches back to the arrival of the first wave of crusading mendicants in the twelfth century, of the fundamentals and practice of faith; of the search for a stable social order; of the use of drama as a forum both of debate and education; of the role of the professionals and, most importantly, amateur actors who dramatised that story. The early years of the new Queen confirm the degree to which prevailing tendencies had evolved into the natural forms of their development. The setting up of the Theater and of the first Blackfriars was by now inevitable.

NOTES AND SOURCES

Chapter IV

1 Thomas Cromwell's singular and revolutionary achievements have been set down at length and with brilliance by Professor G R Elton in a number of books, notably (i) Reform and Reformation (London, 1977); (ii) Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal (Cambridge, 1973); (iii) and Policy and Police: Enforcement of the Reformation in the Age of Thomas Cromwell (Cambridge, 1972). His fall, the direct result of the fusion of faith and politics, is succinctly dealt with by Susan Brigden, 'Popular Disturbance and the Fall of Thomas Cromwell and the Reformers, 1539/40', The Historical Journal, Vol. XXIV, No 2 (1981).

2 Cotton. MS. Faustina. C. ii, Fols. 5-22. See Sydney Anglo, 'An Early Tudor Programme for Plays and Other Demonstrations against the Pope', Journal of the Warburg and Cortauld Institutes, Vol, XX (1957), pp. 176-9.

3 Ibid., p. 178.

4 John Bale, Epistel Exhortatorye of 1544, quoted in Thora Blatt, The Plays of John Bale (Copenhagen, 1968), pp. 131 & 132.

5 G R Elton (see Note 1, i), op. cit., p. 267. The history of the Pilgrimage of Grace is fully dealt with on pp. 262-9.

6 Rafael Holinshed, Chronicles, 6 Vols. (London, 1808), III, pp. 963-4. See also 'Records of Plays and Players in Norfolk and Suffolk, 1330-1642', collected and transcribed by David Galloway and John Wasson, MSC XI (Oxford, 1980/1), p. 131.

7 G R Elton, England under the Tudors (London, 1963), pp. 207-8.

8 Anthony Fletcher, Tudor Rebellions (London, 1980), pp. 135-6, where the demands of the rebels are set out in full.

9 Archbishop Cranmer's reaction to the Fifteen Articles of the men of Devon and Cornwall (1549) typifies contemporary fear of insurrection, while Peter Martyr's rationale of rebellion constitutes a blueprint of reformist revulsion to civil strife. See Thomas Cranmer, Miscellaneous Writings and Letters, edited by J E Cox, Parker Society, Vol. XIX (Cambridge, 1846), pp. 163, 190-202, 194 and 195; and Marvin W Anderson, 'Royal Idolatry: Peter Martyr and the Reformed Tradition', Archive for Reformation History, Vol. LXIX (1978).

10 The subject has already been dealt with fully elsewhere. See

Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. II, Part 1 (London, 1971), pp. 54-75; V C Gildersleeve, Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1961).

11 See 'Dramatic Records of the City of London: Repertories, Journals, and Letter Books', edited by A J Mill and E K Chambers, MSC II (1931), pp. 288-98.

12 Susan Brigden, The Early Reformation in London, 1520-1547: The Conflict in the Parishes, Cambridge Ph. D. Thesis (1979), see Chapter IV.

13 For the interaction of youth and age and its social consequences, see Susan Brigden, 'Youth and the English Reformation', Past and Present, No. 95 (1982), pp. 37-67, and Keith Thomas, 'Age and Authority in Early Modern England', Proceedings of the British Academy, Vol. LXII (1977), pp. 205-48.

14 'Records of Plays and Players in Kent, 1450-1642', edited by Giles E Dawson, MSC VII (Oxford, 1975), pp. 10-12.

15 Ibid., pp. 39-41.

16 H Owen & J B Blakeway, A History of Shrewsbury, 2 Vols. (London, 1825), I, pp. 329-30.

17 Shrewsbury Record Office (SRO), Bailiffs Accounts, SRO 3365, fols 5^{v}, 15^{v} and 23^{v}.

18 Owen & Blakeway (see Note 16), op. cit., pp. 330 and 333.

19 SRO 3365, fol. 52^{r} - "Et sol' p tunicis et al' vestiment' ac pistur' earun' p Robyn hood lix^{s} iij^{d}"; "Et in vino dat' eisdū interlusoribus $xiiij^{s}$", who were possibly the presenters.

20 Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix X, The Manuscripts of Shrewsbury edited by W D Macray (London, 1899), p. 13.

21 Shrewbury Public Library (SPL), MSS. 4260, fol. 81^{v}.

22 Escutcheons of the Bailiffs and Mayors of Shrewbury, 1372-1725, fol. 62^{v}. The compilation was begun by Robert Owen, Gentleman and Herald at Armes, who died in 1623, after which the work was continued by others, notably one Joseph Baynes. The MS is housed in the library of Shrewbury School.

23 'Records of Plays and Players in Lincolnshire, 1300-1585', edited by Stanley J Kahrl, MSC VIII (Oxford, 1974), pp. 58-65.

24 Ibid., pp. 81-4.

25 'A Corpus Christi Play and other Dramatic Activities in Sixteenth Century Sherbourne, Dorset', edited by A D Mills, MSC IX (Oxford, 1977), pp. 5-9.

26 H C Gardiner, Mysteries End (Yale, 1946).

27 Thomas Cranmer (see Note 9), op. cit., p. 388.

28 LP: Henry VIII, Vol. XIV, Part 2, edited by Gairdner and Brodie (London, 1895), p. 337 - "Balle and his fellows at St. Stephen's beside Canterbury, for playing before my lord, 40s" (8 September, 1538); and p. 339 - "Bale and his fellows for playing before my lord, 30s" (31 January, 1539).

29 John Bale, The Vocacyon of Johan Bale to the Bishoprick of Ossorie in Irelande, Harleian Miscellany, Vol. VI (London, 1810), p. 450.

30 Thora Blatt (see Note 4), op. cit., pp. 86-95; Jesse W Harris, John Bale (Urbana/Illinois, 1940), p. 76; E S Miller, 'The Antiphon in Bale's Cycle of Christ', SP, XLVIII (1951), pp. 629-38.

31 John Bale, The Chefe Promyses of God, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1908).

32 Ibid., p. 39. The pagination is my own and begins with the title page, the first page of the text being p. 2.

33 John Bale, Iohan Baptystes preachynge in the Wyldernesse, Harleian Miscellany, Vol. I (London, 1808), pp. 101-114.

34 John Bale, The Temtacyon of Our Lorde, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1909).

35 Ibid., p. 7. The pagination is my own and begins with the title page, the first page of the text being p. 2.

36 John Bale, Thre Lawes, (i) edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1908); (ii) edited by A Schroer, in Anglia, Vol. V (Halle, 1882), pp. 160-225. All quotations are from this edition.

37 Ibid., (ii), p. 223.

38 See T W Craik, The Tudor Interlude (Leicester, 1967), pp. 73-5.

39 Wisdom, in The Macro Plays, edited by Mark Eccles (EETS, 262, 1969 reprint), pp. 143 and 149.

40 Thre Lawes (see Note 36, ii), op. cit., p. 161. 11. 36-7; The Towneley Plays, edited by A W Pollard (EETS, ES 71, Kraus Reprint, 1978), p. 1, 11. 1.6.

41 See for example, the evil quartet in Mankynde, in The Macro Plays,

edited by Mark Eccles (EETS, 262, 1969 reprint), p. 177, 11. 720-33; or Sensuall Apetyte in John Rastell's The Four Elements, in Three Rastell Plays, edited by Richard Axton, (Cambridge, 1979).

42 The Four Elements (see Note 41), op. cit., Sensuall Apetyte's initial entry, p. 41, 11. 405 ff.; John Skelton, Magnyfycence, edited by R L Ramsay (EETS, ES 98, 1906), pp. 27-9, Courtly Abusyon's monologue to the audience; Youth, in Tudor Interludes, edited by Peter Happé (London, 1972), p. 122, 11. 209-18, Ryot's entry upon the scene; John Heywood, A Play of Love, edited by G R Proudfoot (MSR, 1978), where the language and metre of "The vyce nother louer nor beloued" is handled with skill and relish.

43 The following authors provide useful commentary on the play. Thora Blatt (see Note 4), op. cit., pp. 99-129 & 153-63; Rainer Pineas, 'William Tyndale's Influence on John Bale's Polemical Use of History', Archiv für Reformationgeschichte, Vol. LIII (1962), pp. 79-96; E S Miller, 'The Roman Rite in Bale's King John', PMLA, Vol. LXIV (1949), pp. 802-22; Carole Levin, 'A Good Prince: King John and Early Tudor Propaganda', Sixteenth Century Journal, Vol. XI, No. 4 (1980), pp. 23-32; Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. III (London, 1981), pp. 228-9; T W Craik (see Note 38), op. cit., see under King John.

44 Carole Levin (see Note 43), op. cit., pp. 25-6, 27-8.

45 William Tyndale, The Obedience of a Christian Man, edited by Richard Lovett (London, 1888).

46 Rainer Pineas (see Note 43), op. cit., p. 83. The author very thoroughly investigates "the polemical use of ecclesiastical and secular history, the establishing of a Protestant martyrology, and the use of sexual accusation".

47 Kynge Johan, edited by J H P Pafford and W W Greg (MSR, 1931), p. 6, 11. 108-10.

48 Ibid., p. 11 & 12, 11. 196-212, 214-22. Sedwsion boasts openly of how "In eu'y estate, of ꝑ^e clargye, I playe a part", and then goes on to catalogue the varieties of religions embraced by the church. He has travelled widely as papal ambassador, in whose

> "...holy cawse, I mayntayne traytors & Rebelles
> that no p^ince cā haue, his peples obedyence
> except yt doth stand, w^t the popes p'hemynēce."

49 See E S Miller (see Note 43).

50 Kynge Johan (see Note 47), op. cit., pp. 58 and 59, 11. 1221-6, and marginal addition by Hand B for insertion after 1. 1226.

51 John Heywood, The Foure PP, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1908) pp. 17-19.

The pagination is my own and begins with the first page of text.

52 E K Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 Vols. (Oxford, 1923), II, p. 206, n. 4.

53 Glynne Wickham (see Note 43), op. cit., p. 228.

54 Temperance and Humility, edited by W W Greg, in MSC I, (1909). See also T W Craik, 'The Political Interpretation of Two Tudor Interludes: Temperance and Humility and Wealth and Health', RES, New Series, Vol. IV (1953), pp. 98-108, in which the author argues the possibility that "the play was intended to prepare public opinion for government action rather than to justify the action after the event". He is not entirely specific as to what action, nor can I find evidence elsewhere to substantiate the probability.

55 Albion Knight, edited by W W Greg, in MSC I (1909).

56 Gwen Ann Jones, 'The Political Significance of the Play of Albion Knight', JEGP, Vol. XVII (1918), pp. 267-80.

57 M H Dodds, 'The Date of Albion Knight ', The Library, 3rd Series, Vol. IV (1913), pp. 157-70.

58 N W Bawcutt, 'Policy, Machiavellianism, and the Early Tudor Drama', English Literary Renaissance, Vol. I (1971), pp. 195-209.

59 Glynne Wickham (see Note 43), op. cit., p. 100; and Albion Knight (see Note 55), op. cit., p. 231, ll. 13-38.

60 Ibid., p. 242, ll. 376-7.

61 Thre Lawes (see Note 36, ii), op. cit., p. 171, ll. 374-6.

62 The Four Cardinal Virtues, edited by W W Greg, in MSC IV (1956), pp. 45-52.

63 Ibid., p. 45, ll. 17-19.

64 Ibid., pp. 50 and 51, ll. 195-6, 225 and 230-1.

65 The Diary of Henry Machyn, edited by J G Nicholls, Camden Society, No XLII (London, 1848), p. 145.

66 C T Prouty, 'An Early Elizabethan Playhouse', Shakespeare Survey 6, edited by Allardyce Nicoll (Cambridge, 1953), p. 67. See also Richard Hosley, 'Three Renaissance English Indoor Playhouses', ELR, Vol. III (1973), pp. 176-9.

67 Guildhall Library Muniment Room (GLMR), Merchant Taylors Records (MTR),

Film No. 298, Vol. 4, fol. 165^{v} - "It' paid for having the Children of poulles for their playng vpon vyalles & synging at the feaste day, x^{s}". In further references I shall use an abbreviated form, in this instance, GLMR, MTR, 298, 4/fol. 165^{v}.

68 GLMR, MTR, 298, 5/no foliation. Recorded under Paymentes.

69 R Mark Benbow, 'Sixteenth-Century Dramatic Performances for the London Livery Companies', NQ, New Series, Vol. XXIX, No. 2. (1982), p. 130.

70 'A Calender of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London: 1485-1640', edited by Jean Robertson and D J Gordon, MSC III (Oxford, 1954), pp. 138 and 139.

71 R Mark Benbow (see Note 69), op. cit., loc. cit.

72 Henry Machyn (see Note 65), op. cit., p. 138.

73 E H Pearce, Annals of Christ's Hospital (London, 1908). See Chap. II for a fuller exposition.

74 C M Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, 2 Vols. (London, 1888), II, p. 269, n. 1.

75 T H Vail Motter, The School Drama in England (London, 1929), p. 173.

76 R Mark Benbow (see Note 69), op. cit., loc. cit.

77 Respublica, re-edited by W W Greg (EETS, OS 226, 1969 reprint), p. 1.

78 Ibid., loc. cit., ll. 5-6, 1-2.

79 Ibid., p. 2, ll. 15-22.

80 Ibid., loc. cit., ll. 23-4.

81 The Castle of Perseverance, in The Macro Players, edited by Mark Eccles (EETS, 262, 1969 reprint).

82 Respublica (see Note 77), op. cit., pp. 2 and 3, ll. 49-50 and 53.

83 Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary, Materialen, Vol. 44 (Kraus reprint, 1968), p. 149, ll. 26-37.

84 Ibid., p. 289.

85 Respublica (see Note 77), op. cit., p. 2, ll. 39-41.

86 Ibid., loc. cit., ll. 42-3 and 47-50.

87 Ibid., Act I, Scene iv, pp. 12-15.

88 John Redford, Wit and Science, edited by Arthur Brown assisted by W W Greg and F P Wilson (MSR, 1957), pp. 17-23.

89 Respublica (see Note 77), op. cit., Introduction, pp. viii-xviii; Respublica, edited by L A Magnus (EETS, ES 94, 1905), Introduction, pp. xii-xxii; Leicester Bradner, 'A Test for Udall's Authorship', MLN, XLII, No. 6 (1927), pp. 378-80.

90 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 83), op. cit., pp. 159-60.

91 There is, for example, the output of the Vicar of Yoxford, Thomas Wylley, who writes to Cromwell in complaint of his Catholic colleagues, see LP: Henry VIII, Vol. XII, Part 1, edited by Gairdner and Brodie (London, 1890), No. 529, p. 244:

> "The Lord make you the instrument of my help, Lord Cromwell, that I may have free liberty to preach the truth.
>
> I dedicate and offer to your Lordship a reverent receiving of the Sacrament as a Lenten matter declared by six children representing Christ, the Worde of God, Paul, Austyn, a child, a nun called Ignoransy, as a secret thing, that shall have his end once rehearsed afore your eye by the said children. The most part of the priests of Suffolk will not receive me into their churches to preach, but have disdained me ever since I made a play against the Pope's counselers, Error, Colle Clogger of Conscience, and Incredulity, that and the Act of Parliament had not followed after, I had been counted a great lier.
>
> I have made a play called a Rude Commonalty. I am making of another called the Woman on the Rock, in the fire of faith affyning and a purging in the true purgatory, never to be seen but by your Lordship's eye.
>
> Aid me, for Christ's sake, that I may preach Christ. Thomas Wylley, of Yoxforthe, vicar, fatherless and forsaken."

92 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 83), op. cit., p. 290, n. 152.

93 H N Hillebrand, The Child Actors (New York, 1964), pp. 59-73.

94 Ibid., pp. 61 (n. 73), 62 (n. 75) and 65 (n. 90).

95 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 83), op. cit., pp. 166-171.

96 For a full exposition of the drama at Eton in the first half of the

century see Chapter III above (pp. 161-75). See also pp. 324-9 below.

97 LP: Henry VIII (see Note 28), op. cit., p. 334 - February 2: "Woodall, the schoolmaster of Eton 'By my lord's command' for playing before my Lord, 51." The occasion is the Feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, and the fee paid is large, which might well signify a lavish entertainment.

98 The date of the first performance and by whom is still a matter of debate. The main issues in contention are discussed by T W Baldwin, William Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure (Urbana/Illinois, 1963), see Chapter XVIII; T W Baldwin and M C Linthicum, 'The Date of Ralph Roister Doister', PQ, Vol. V (1926), pp. 379-95; Cathleen H Wheat, 'A Pore Helpe , Ralph Roister Doister and Three Laws', PQ, Vol. XXVIII (1949), pp. 312-19; and William L Edgerton, 'The Date of Roister Doister', PQ, Vol. XLIV (1965), pp. 555-60. In brief, the dating will depend upon which choir school the first performance hailed from, either the Chapel at Windsor or Gardiner's choir school, 1552/3 or 1553/4 respectively. The wholly uncontroversial nature of the play with its marked classical affiliations persuades me to prefer the earlier date. There must, I feel sure, have been a fair amount of mixing between the Windsor Chapel boys and those at Eton.

99 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 83), op. cit., pp. 31 (1. 11), 39, 57 (11. 16-20), 62 (11. 33-4) and 86 (11. 1-6).

100 Ibid., p. 24, 11. 32-3.

101 Ibid., p. 22, 1. 19.

102 Ibid., p. 14, 11. 18-19.

103 Ibid., pp. 5-6.

104 Ibid., pp. 142 (11. 28-9) and 145 (11. 4-6).

105 I have speculated at length, in Chapter IV above, upon the courtly auspices of Heywood's plays and upon their probable affiliation with both Paul's foundations.

106 Household Accounts of the Princess Elizabeth During her Residence at Hatfield, edited by Viscount Strangford, Camden Miscellany 2, Camden Society (1853), p. 37.

107 Henry Machyn (see Note 65), op. cit., p. 206.

108 Trevor Lennam, Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's and 'The Marriage of Wit and Science' (Toronto, 1975), p. 56.

109 The gap between Westcott's appointment and its confirmation is explained

in Arthur Brown, 'Three Notes on Sebastian Westcott', MLR, Vol. LXIV (1949), pp. 229-30.

110 Ibid., p. 231, and Arthur Brown, 'Two Notes on John Redford', MLR, Vol. LXIII (1948), pp. 229-30.

111 See Notes 108-10. In addition, see Arthur Brown, 'A Note on Sebastian Westcott and the Plays presented by the Children of Paul's', MLQ, Vol. XII, No. 2 (1951), pp. 134-6; H N Hillebrand (see Note 93), op. cit., pp. 117-24, and 'Sebastian Westcote, Dramatist and Master of the Children of Paul's', JEGP, Vol. XIV (1915), pp. 568-84; J P Brawner, 'Early Classical Narrative Plays by Sebastian Westcott and Richard Mulcaster', MLQ, Vol, IV, No. 4 (1943), pp. 455-64; Reavley Gair, The Children of Paul's (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 75-96.

112 For details of this period of Elizabeth's life, see J E Neale, Queen Elizabeth I (London, 1954), Chapter III, pp. 38-60, and Neville Williams, Elizabeth, Queen of England (London, 1967), Chapter 2, pp. 24-49.

113 E K Chambers, The Medieval Stage, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1967), I, p. 367, n. 1.

114 See Note 97.

115 ECR AB/3, p. 41, 11. 3-4.

116 Ibid., p. 40, 11. 9-10.

117 Ibid., p. 9, Extranei.

118 Ibid., pp. 145 (11. 22-3), 151 (11. 27-8), 188 (11. 17-18), and 193 (11. 14-15).

119 The accounts for the years 1555/6 and 1557/8 record "playes" being performed at Christmastide, while in 1558/9, "xij^{s}" is spent on candles "on festivall nyghtes by the Children". See Ibid., pp. 311 (11. 1-2), 382 (1. 8), 388 (1. 36), and 448 (11. 2-3).

120 Ibid., p. 198, ffortuita damna.

121 ECR AB/1, p. 422, 11. 20-1.

122 ECR AB/3, pp. 41 (11. 26-40), 42 (11. 1-6), 136 (11. 25-40), and 311 (11. 1-13).

123 ECR AB/4, p. 689.

124 ECR AB/3, p. 129, 11. 31-2, Templum.

125 T W Craik (see Note 38), op. cit., p. 66.

126 ECR AB/3, pp. 41 and 43.

127 I do not here attempt any lengthy dissertation upon the nature of the pre-Shakespearean comedy since Professor Wickham has dealt with the matter fully and convincingly elsewhere, cf. Glynne Wickham (see Note 43) op. cit., Chapter VIII, pp. 173-218.

128 The Book of Sir Thomas More, edited by W W Greg (MSR, 1911/1961), p. 31, ll. 918-22.

129 See James Hinton, 'The Source of Ralph Roister Doister', MP, Vol. XI (1913), pp. 273-8, who offers a sane, unpartisan explanation of the play's sources. For a complementary view see A W Plumstead, 'Satirical Parody in Roister Doister: A Reinterpretation', SP, Vol. LX (1963), pp. 141-54. For the play's structural debt to Latin Comedy see T W Baldwin (see Note 98), op. cit., Chapter XVIII.

130 ECR AB/3, p. 151, ll. 27-8.

131 Lily B Campbell, Scenes and Machines on the English Stage during the Renaissance (New York, 1960), pp. 83-4.

132 Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. I (London, 1980), Fig. 16, p. 245.

133 Calendar of State Papers: Venetian, Vol. IV, 1527-33, edited by Rawdon Brown (London, 1871), No. 225, pp. 115-6.

134 Glynne Wickham (see Note 132), op. cit., p. 243.

135 T W Craik (see Note 38), op. cit., pp. 10 and 120, n. 10/12.

136 Jacob and Esau, edited by John Crow and F P Wilson (MSR, 1956 reprint), ll. 1489-90.

137 Ibid., ll. 1801, 1810, and 1815-18.

138 Richard Wever, Lusty Juventus, edited by J M Nosworthy and checked by Arthur Brown and G R Proudfoot (MSR, 1971), ll. 15-19.

139 Ibid., ll. 223-4.

140 Jack Jugeler, edited by E L Smart and W W Greg (MSR, 1933), ll. 9-22.

141 Ibid., ll. 1148-9 and 1151-2.

142 Glynne Wickham (see Note 43), op. cit., pp. 76-8. See also R Marienstras, 'Jack Juggler: Aspects de la conscience individuelle dans une farce du 16e siècle', Etudes Anglaises, XVIe Année, No. 4 (1963), pp. 321-32.

143 Martin Bucer, De Honestis Ludis, Extract in Glynne Wickham (see Note 10.)

op. cit., Appendix C, p. 329.

144 Ibid., loc. cit.

145 Ibid., pp. 330-1.

146 Nice Wanton, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1909), pp.4-5, 11. 82-5. The pagination and line numeration are my own, p. 1 being the title page.

147 Ibid., p. 10, 11. 267-70.

148 The Fairford glazier has depicted the serpent as a woman with flaxen hair twined round the Tree of Knowledge. The image is common to Medieval illustrators, as manuscript illuminations confirm. There is an excellent example of the scene in an illuminated manuscript at the Cathedral Library, York; and in a North-French style Bible and prayer book dating from the later 13th century (BL Add. 11639, fol. 520^{v}).

149 Nice Wanton (see Note 146), op. cit., p. 18, 11. 516, 519-20.

150 Ibid., pp. 18-19, 11. 530-1, 533.

151 Ibid., p. 19, 11. 544-6.

152 Ibid., p. 20, last verse.

153 Hugh Latimer, Sermons, edited by G E Corrie, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1844), Sermon preached at Stamford (1550), p. 291.

154 Ibid., Sixth Sermon on the Lord's Prayer (1552), p. 418.

155 Thomas Lever, Sermons, 1550, edited by E Arber (Westminster, 1895), p. 81; Bernard Gilpin, A godly sermon preached before the Court at Greenwich, pp. 37 and 38, quoted in J W Blench, Preaching in England (Oxford, 1964), pp. 271-2, n. 227.

156 See A W Plumstead (see note 129), op. cit., pp. 141-54, who supplies a welcome corrective to the over-emphatic attributions to classical comedy.

157 D S Bland, 'Rhetoric and the Law Student in Sixteenth-Century England', SP, Vol. LIV, No. 4 (1957), p. 507.

158 Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Black Book, Vol. I, 1422-1586, edited by J Douglas Walker (London, 1897), p. 119.

159 Ibid., pp. 104 and 119.

160 A Calendar of the Inner Temple Records, Vol. I, edited by F A Inderwick (London, 1896), p. 75.

161 D S Bland (see Note 157), op. cit., pp. 498-502; R M Fisher, 'Thomas Cromwell, Humanism and Educational Reform', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, Vol. L (1977), pp. 151-63; English Historical Documents: 1485-1558, edited by C H Williams (London, 1967), pp. 562-73.

162 Sir Thomas Elyot, The Book named The Governor (London, 1970 reprint), pp. 54-5.

163 D S Bland (see Note 157), op. cit., p. 502, quoting from Paynell's translation of The Conspiracy of Catiline (1557).

164 R M Fisher, 'Reform, Repression and Unrest at the Inns of Court, 1518-1558', The Historical Journal, Vol. XX, No. 4 (1977), p. 785.

165 Ibid., p. 791.

166 'The Academic Drama in Oxford', edited R E Alton, in MSC V (Oxford, 1960), pp. 41 and 42.

167 From John Christopherson, Exhortation to all menne to take hede and beware of rebellion (1554), quoted in F S Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1914), p. 44.

168 The university reforms are fully dealt with in Joan Simon, Education and Society in Tudor England (Cambridge, 1979), Chapter X.

169 Ibid., p. 246.

170 Thomas Lever (see Note 155), op. cit., pp. 121-2.

171 Hugh Latimer (see Note 153), op. cit., Sixth Sermon preached before Edward VI, pp. 202-3.

172 Joan Simon (see Note 168), op. cit., p. 254; Collection of Statutes for the University and Colleges of Cambridge, edited by J Heywood (London, 1840), p. 34.

173 John Strype, Ecclesiastical Memorials, 3 Vols. (Oxford, 1822), III, Part 1, p. 510.

174 'The Academic Drama at Cambridge: Extracts from College Records', eidted by G C Moore Smith, in MSC II, Part 2 (Oxford, 1923), p. 220.

175 Ibid., p. 182.

176 F S Boas (see Note 167), op. cit., p. 17.

177 Ibid., loc. cit.

178 G C Moore Smith (see Note 174), op. cit., pp. 197 and 189.

179 Ibid., p. 155, and Lily B Campbell (see Note 131), op. cit., p. 87.

180 Ibid., p. 216.

181 C W Boase, Registrum Collegii Exoniensis (Oxford, 1894), p. cxiii.

182 R E Alton (see Note 166) op. cit., pp. 50-4.

183 Thersytes, (i) edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1912). The pagination and line numeration are my own, the title page being p. 1; (ii) in Three Tudor Classical Interludes, edited by Marie Axton (Cambridge, 1982), pp. 37-63.

184 A W Pollard, 'Thersytes', TLS, No. 681, 18 July (1918), p. 337; Marie Axton (see Note 183), op. cit., Introduction, p. 13.

185 A R Moon, 'Was Nicholas Udall the Author of "Thersites"?', The Library, 4th Series, Vol. VII (1927), pp. 184-93.

186 Marie Axton (see Note 183), op. cit., pp. 5-6.

187 G C Moore Smith (see Note 174), op. cit., p. 184.

188 Thersytes (see Note 183, i), op. cit., p. 29, 11. 766-72.

189 Ibid., p. 34, 11. 905-6.

190 Ibid., pp. 10-11. 11. 255-64.

191 The Plays of Henry Medwall, edited by Alan H Nelson (Cambridge, 1980), Introduction, p. 6.

192 C W Boase (see Note 181), op. cit., loc. cit.

193 Thersytes (see Note 183, i), op. cit., pp. 5 and 15, sds.

194 An up-to-date survey of the literature on Gammer Gurtons Nedle is given by William D Wolf, 'Recent Studies in Early Tudor Drama: Gammer Gurton's Needle and Cambises', ELR, Vol. VIII (1978), pp. 113-9. Of especial interest are R W Ingram, 'Gammer Gurton's Needle: Comedy Not Quite of the Lowest Order?' Studies in English Literature, Vol. VII (1967), pp. 257-68; William B Toole, 'The Aesthetics of Scatology in Gammer Gurton's Needle', ELN, Vol. X, No. 4 (1973), pp. 252-7; Homer A Watt, 'The Staging of Gammer Gurton's Needle', in Elizabethan Studies and Other Essays: In Honour of George F Reynolds (Boulder/Colorado, 1945), pp. 85-92; and B J Whiting, 'Diccon's French Cousin', SP, Vol. XLII, No. 1 (1945), pp. 31-40.

195 William B Toole (see Note 194).

196 David Bevington, Tudor Drama and Politics (Cambridge/Mass., 1968), p. 125.

197 The performances by The Medieval Players of Gammer Gurton's Needle, as also of other pre-Shakespearean plays including Mankind and Heywood's The Pardoner and the Frere, were not only sold out but the staging was one of the unequivocal successes of the 1982 Edinburgh Festival. The audiences of every age, colour, creed and class roared with laughter, sang along when required and emerged visibly joyful and enriched. The plays have subsequently elicited similar responses on tour in England, notably, to my knowledge, in Bristol at the Department of Drama, University of Bristol, and the Hope Chapel; and in London at Bedford College, University of London.

198 See Matthew Parker, Correspondence, edited by J Bruce, Parker Society (Cambridge, 1853), pp. 20-30.

199 Ibid., pp. 21, 27 and 29.

200 These are very fully dealt with by F S Boas (see Note 167), op. cit., Chapters II and III, pp. 26-68.

201 John Christopherson, Jephthah, edited and translated by F H Forbes (Delaware, 1928).

202 Ibid., p. 47, 11. 95-8.

203 Ibid., pp. 69 and 157.

204 L R Merrill, The Life and Poems of Nicholas Grimald (Archon/Yale, 1969 reprint).

205 Printed in Ibid., together with Christus Redivivus.

206 Ibid., p. 99.

207 Ibid., p. 101.

208 Ibid., p. 61.

209 Ibid., p. 109.

210 Ibid., p. 111.

211 Plautus, Captivi (The Prisoners), in The Pot of Gold and Other Plays, edited and translated by E F Watling (London, 1965), pp. 51-95.

212 Ibid., p. 53

213 Nicholas Grimald, Christus Redivivus (see Notes 204 and 205), op. cit., Act II, sc. iii, pp. 141-7.

214 L R Merrill (see Note 204), op. cit., pp. 37-50. In the light of the evidence quoted, I think the author rather overstates the case against Grimald, who emerges as an unsympathetic personality anxious to save his own skin rather than as deliberately base, "treacherous", "a betrayer".

215 F S Boas (see Note 167), op. cit., Chapter V.

216 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 83), op. cit., p. 250; and 'Performance of a Tragedy at New College, Oxford, in the Time of Queen Mary', MLR, Vol. IX (1914), pp. 96-7.

217 See Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, edited by Edward Arber (London, 1903), pp. 139-40. See, too, F S Boas (see Note 167), op. cit., pp. 62-4.

218 The Whole Works of Roger Ascham, edited by J A Giles, 3 Vols. in 4 (London, 1864-5), I, p. 32 - "Statim enim in manus sumpsi SOPHOCLIS Philoctetem, quæ tragœdia ad imitationem quantum potui SENECÆ versa, et versibus eisdem iambicis atque choricis fere omnibus, quibus usus est SOPHOCLES, reddita, in tuo nomine divulgata apparebit". (Letter to Archbishop Lee, 1543).

219 G C Moore Smith (see Note 174), op. cit., p. 183.

220 Ibid., p. 205.

221 Sandra Billington, 'Sixteenth-Century Drama in St John's College, Cambridge', RES, New Series, Vol. XXIX (1978), p. 2.

222 G C Moore Smith (see Note 174), op. cit., pp. 183-4.

223 Ibid., p. 185.

224 Sandra Billington (see Note 221), op. cit., loc. cit.

225 Roger Ascham (see Note 218), op. cit., I, Part 2, p. 212.

226 G C Moore Smith (see Note 174), op. cit., p. 206.

227 Ibid., p. 159.

228 R E Alton (see Note 166), op. cit., pp. 50 and 52.

229 Ibid., pp. 53 and 54.

230 Ibid., pp. 51 and 52.

231 C W Boase (see Note 181), op. cit., loc. cit.

232 R E Alton (see Note 166), op. cit., p. 42.

233 Lily B Campbell (see Note 131), op. cit., p. 87.

234 G C Moore Smith (see Note 174), op. cit., p. 188.

235 Ibid., p. 215.

236 Joan Simon (see Note 168), op. cit., p. 258.

CHAPTER V

THE EARLY YEARS OF ELIZABETH

Elizabeth I's early years brought a sense of optimism and stability to a nation tense and nervous after years of uncertainty. The foundations of the house that Cromwell built had survived the often wilful, entrenched, misguided or unscrupulous stewardships of a variety of occupants who had threatened to undermine them, so that the popular young queen was able to enter upon her inheritance confident, at least, that the means of government still ran smoothly. With the placement of trusted servants like William Cecil and Matthew Parker in positions of responsibility, she hoped that in times of trouble she could call upon the support of like-minded men in the pursuit of her policies. During the first eighteen years of her reign she was going to have to settle the form of the Church of England and, in so doing, to withstand, sooner or later, the sustained attack of the Puritan malcontents; to establish an acceptable stance towards the questions of marriage and the succession; to deal with the steady breakdown of relations with Spain and the consequent Catholic threat; to harbour in her realm the dangerous presence of Mary, Queen of Scots, whose person and faith were anathema but whose Divine rights as a sovereign were inviolable. In tackling these different problems, Elizabeth adopted the tactics of delay and equivocation, which angered opponents, infuriated earnest and loyal commoners like Peter Wentworth[1], and hindered her ministerial friends and allies in the effective and speedy execution of their duties. Nevertheless, the times were stirring. Nationalism stalked the land. Admiration for and loyalty to the sovereign were unquestioned.

1. The Professionals: The Challenge of Emancipation

The modified euphoria at the start of the reign probably explains why government control of drama continued to utilize the Marian machinery of censorship, adding only a Proclamation of May, 1559, "which banned the performance of all plays without prior licence".[2] The excommunication of the Queen in February, 1570, livened matters up considerably,[3] though signs of discontent had earlier been voiced by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, in 1564, and by Lord Burghley, whose dissatisfaction with Sir Thomas Benger's slack administration of the Revels Office caused him, in 1572/3, to replace the Master with a subordinate, Thomas Blagrave.[4] And yet, in 1574, the Earl of Leicester's Company was officially licensed to perform regularly in London on weekdays. Two years later, they had established themselves as a resident company at the Theater, in Shoreditch.[5] Within the metropolis, the city fathers pursued their policy of support for the government measures of control.[6]

Professional companies, despite the inconvenience of state surveillance, continued both to tour extensively[7] and to play in London. Nor had their repertoire changed much except, perhaps, in one respect. It is possible that romantic plays, whose inspiration derived from Italian and classical romances or from the chivalric literature of an earlier age,[8] were being taken up by the professionals. Common Conditions (c. 1576)[9] could easily have been played by six actors if a local lad were co-opted to play the Shipboy. Moreover, the playmaker, avoiding all contentious material, has provided his players with a work of unimpeachable propriety; one, what is more, which caught the prevailing fashion at court.[10]

Common Conditions was an ideal vehicle, for example, for Leicester's men, the kind of play whose broad appeal to commoner and courtier alike not only made it a viable financial proposition but the thin edge of a wedge to help them find favour at court.

However, in general, the professionals were still unable to offer works other than those fashioned to promote straightforward Protestant values, plays such as The Triall of Treasure[11] and New Customs;[12] or those which, in addition, attacked associated social evils, plays such as Impacyente Pouerte[13] and George Wapull's The Tyde taryeth no Man,[14] both of which tackle avarice and usury. Wapull's piece is also a finely sustained indictment of the unscrupulous who, regardless of the fate and feelings of others, ruthlessly pursue success at all costs for fear of letting slip opportunities. Only Tom Tyler and His Wife,[15] a simple tale of domestic strife owing much to the world of mendicant sermons and cycle plays - Tom's wife revives memories of Noah's - is sheer fun. The Protestant subtext is never allowed to become insistent. The generally glum didacticism elsewhere certainly seems to have made audiences restless, to have invited scorn from the more literate onlookers with some experience of court entertainment. Lewis Wager, in his Prologue to the Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene,[16] attempts a spirited defence of the form. "We and other persons haue exercised/ This comely and good facultie a longe season", he argues,

"Which of some haue been spitefully despised,
Wherefore I thinke they can alleage no reason,
* * * * * *
I maruell why they should detract our facultie:
We haue ridden and gone many sundry waies,
Yea, we haue vsed this feate at the vniuersitie,
Yet neither wise nor learned would it dispraise:
* * * * * *

Doth not our facultie learnedly extoll vertue?
Doth it not teache, God to be praised aboue al thing?
What facultie doth vice more earnestly subdue?
Doth it not teache true obedience to the kynge?
What godly sentences to the mynde doth it brynge?
I saie, there was neuer thyng inuented
More worth, for mans solace to be frequented."[17]

Lewis Wager's darkly Calvinist version[18] of the wayward Magdalene is powerful stuff, but one sympathises with actors seeking to achieve professional respectability and to earn a worthwhile living in the presentation of plays less proscriptive as to the material and more challenging to their skills. To gain their independence they needed once more to enter the mainstream of dramatic evolution wherein their status and freedoms might more unequivocally be defined within the nation's moral and political structure.[19] In this respect, James Burbage and his fellows were fortunate in their patron. Their license to perform was the vital breakthrough; their occupation of the Theater marked the beachhead of their advance towards emancipation and respectability. In thus forcing the children into the commercial field, they laid the ground-plan of their eventual ascendancy and precipitated the decline in the fortunes of the boy actors.

2 Drama in Education: The Prelude to Decline

i The Boys at Court and in School

The history of the boy actors during the early years of Elizabeth is, for the most part, well-documented[20] and does not require undue reiteration. It confirms their ascendancy at court. The Children of the Chapel continue to prosper, to be well-served by their choir-masters. Richard Edwards (1561-6),[21] Oxford-educated, was an experienced playmaker, whose

Damon and Pithias[22] is not only an excellent example of the kind of play popular at court but also a fair pointer to the skills of its performers. The play sets out "To proove no friendship is sure, but that which is grounded on vertue",[23] as is the friendship of the eponymous protagonists, and unlike that of the two contrasted parasites, Aristippus and Carisophus, who seek to prosper at the court of the tyrant Dionysus. The friends have a servant, Stephano, whose fidelity exposes the sharp practices of Will and Jacke, lackeys to the parasites. The shaving scene in which they con Grimme, the Colyer, who is himself cheating the court, is as exuberantly comic as Figaro's shaving of the irascible Dr Bartolo in Rossini's Il Barbiere di Siviglia. The episode is also a brilliant device to mark the passage of time between Damon's departure from and return to Dionysus' court, which is central to the play's morality. The cast is completed by Eubulus, an honourable counsellor to the tyrant, by a baleful hangman, Gronno, and by the aptly named Snap, the Porter. The rich variety of characters provides challenging roles for the young actors, while successfully illustrating Edward's claim that:

> "In Commedies, the greatest Skyll is this, rightly to touche
> All thynges to the quicke: and eke to frame eche person so,
> That by his common talke, you may his nature rightly know."[24]

Edwards has removed the allegory from his interlude to create, instead, three-dimensional beings whose interaction brings a greater reality to the play's moral preoccupations. Further, he builds upon the example of Redford and uses music not so much as resting points in the drama but rather to heighten atmosphere and to underline or highlight character. The music accompanying Damon's departure, Pithias' lament for his friend, and the

plaint upon Pithias' fate, in which the Muses act as chorus to the sorrowful Eubulus,[25] all contribute movingly to the work's overall emotional pattern. They demand musical talent of a high order to achieve their effects. Moreover, here for the first time is music which embodies love and honour, which is unequivocally associated with the good. Finally, the play contains an unemphatic yet sustained subtext discoursing upon the nature of kingship and, in addition, two stychomythic exchanges upon Fortune and the hazzards of being a courtier. The work requires skilled pacing, subtle direction to balance the varieties of mood and to help actors perfect a convincing characterisation within an emblematic framework, and singing which is expressively shaped. Damon and Pithias is a singular achievement which finds fruitful and moving echoes in A Comedy of Errors, As You Like It and The Tempest.

The Chapel children gave some half dozen performances between 1558-76[26] but were eclipsed in popularity by the Children of Paul's under their choirmaster Sebastian Westcott.[27] They gave at least nineteen performances over the same period, usually at Christmas but also at Shrovetide and on at least one special occasion (see Appendix C). It is unfortunate that no play associated with them at this period has survived to provide some clue as to their abilities but, as I have earlier argued (see Chapter IV above), their wide experience of complying with miscellaneous demands at a range of venues must have helped them acquire a versatility and develop an attack in ensemble which far outstripped the considerable skills of their rivals. I imagine them tackling Damon and Pithias, Liberalitie and Prodigalitie[28] or Clyomon and Clamydes,[29] three very different though taxing shows, without

undue misgivings, indeed with a sense of exhilaration. After all, they were trained within a tradition of court entertainment which embraced disguisings and masques, the dramatic disputations and comic squibs of John Heywood, Redford's Wit and Science, not to mention the numerous variants upon that tradition which must have comprised their repertoire thereafter. Their early association with the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield House[30] gave them a head start and, though it cannot be proved that they performed regularly before her prior to her accession, it seems unlikely that their popularity resulted from the whim of a monarch whose education and intelligence did not predispose her to the arbitrary. Their ubiquity and the expertise acquired during the transitional years readily explain their predominance at court.

The one educational foundation that stood to challenge their pre-eminence was that of Westminster.[31] However, Westminster School comprised two separate institutions whose scholastic interdependence did not extend to their dramatic histories. Whereas the choristers made four notable appearances at court in the decade 1566-76, the grammar school boys, with the exception of a single performance at Putney in 1567,[32] appear to have confined their theatrical presentations to the hall at Westminster School. This accords with the injunctions of the Statutes drawn up by Dr Bill in 1561,[33] which ordain that:

> "...every year within the 12 days after the feast of the Nativity of Christ, or later if the Dean so decides, the Headmaster and the Assistant Master shall provide for the performance by their scholars, either privately in hall, or publicly, of a comedy or tragedy in Latin; the Master of the Choristers shall provide for a similar performance by the Choristers in English."[34]

The choristers drop out of sight after their staging of Truth, ffaythfullnesse & Mercye under Elderton[35] on New Year's Day, 1574.[36] The fact that the Paul's boys continue to perform at court suggests that their Westminster peers were unable to dim their splendour. The Latin play survived to the outbreak of the Civil War when, as with the professional theatre, it was forced into abeyance seemingly until 1704, though plays appear to have been given during the latter half of the seventeenth century.[37]

The evidence of drama at Westminster is rich and full (see Appendix D), though it adds little that is new to the history of drama in schools. Where it differs from the records of Winchester and Eton is in naming plays and providing full accounts of individual productions, most of which are lavish by implication. Costumes are borrowed from the Revels and transported to and fro by boat-hire, once by cart. The same is true "for furniture wanting". Tiring women dress the childre, while often "a teyler" is on stand-by "for making fytt the childrens attyre attending vppon theim one hole daye".[38] For Plautus' Mostellaria, given in 1569, "twoo taileres" were engaged.[39] Since "a painter" is rewarded with "v^{s}...for drawing the cytee and temple of Jerusalem and for paynting towres"[40] for the staging of Sapientia Salomonis[41] in 1566, it seems fairly clear that a raised stage is in use, a fact confirmed by the "paynting so much cāvesse as couered An howse & for olde clothe for the same purpose"[42] for the Mostellaria production already referred to. Unusual props include "a haddocke" (real?) for Rudens and a live infant for the Solomon play - "It^{m} geuen to a woman that brawght hir childe to the stadge and there attended vppō itt".[43] Stage effects are impressive, "ij^{s}" being given towards "the Lone of A thondre barrell & to

twoo men w^{ch} brawght the same & thondered".[44] The auditorium is perfumed with "frankincence"[45] at several performances, and the Queen is presented with specially prepared editions of the playing text on the occasions of the staging of Plautus' Miles Gloriosus and the Solomon play, the latter edition having been written out by the Dean's son and bound "in vellume wth the Queenes Ma^{tie} hir armes and sylke ribben stringes".[46] The children are rewarded with "finger candee" and "cōfettes", while "dredge" and "buttered bere" are at hand "for y^{e} children being horse".

The overall impression made by the Westminster records is of an occasional drama both formal and elaborate set fair to harden into tradition in strict accord with the Statutes' declared intent that the boys "may better accustom themselves to orderly action and elocution".[47] Similar sentiments are expressed by William Malim, Headmaster of Eton (1555-63), in his Consuetudinarium Etonense[48] of 1560, though the tone is more relaxed, as if the Christmas season should ideally be both festive and instructive, an opportunity for the boys and the local audience to celebrate. I quote the passage in full:

> " On or about the Feast of St. Andrew, the Headmaster chooses, at his pleasure, certain of the best and most suitable stage plays for the boys to act at some time during the following Christmas holidays, with some of the refinements of the stage, in public and before an audience. The actor's art is a slight one, and yet, for a proper action in speaking and deportment and movement of the body, it does more than anything else. He sometimes also produces such plays in the English tongue as display point and humour."[49]

The "best and most suitable stage plays" were presumably in Latin so that, if they were publicly performed, - and I doubt the audience consisted solely of an educated elite - the production style must have been clearly

emblematic with precise and meaningful gestures, or established comic routines in the case of comedy. July and Julian[50] qualifies perfectly as "in the English tongue" and as displaying "point and humour". Though cast in the by now inevitable Plautine mould, the play is an indigenous comedy with a strong provincial appeal. Dick, the grammar school boy, is one of the leading characters in a large cast which also requires scholars, a Song-school master and a Grammar school master - the boys must have extracted considerable mileage out of the latter roles. In keeping with current trends in drama in education, the material is unexceptional, presented as pure entertainment:

> "Thes thinges and partes to play ys o^{r} holl intent,
> this is o^{r} only purposse and Argument."[51]

It is rather more difficult to imagine what Winchester boys were allowed to present now that they were at long last treading the boards themselves. The generous sum, "xxv^{s} 8^{d}", expended upon the preparation of a stage for three nights of comedies and tragedies in the second quarter of 1573/4[52] was unlikely to have been for an external troupe, though the school was visited by professionals in 1568/9 and 1570/1,[53] on both occasions in the fourth quarter, that is, in the summer months, possibly at Corpus Christi or on the feast of the Ascension. Back in London, the Merchant Taylors School, founded in 1560/1, took two classically influenced pieces to Hampton Court at Candlemas /2 February/ and Shrovetide, 1574.[54] Under their first Headmaster, the energetic Richard Mulcaster, they had already gained considerable experience in playing before the Company at the Guild-Hall, as may be inferred from an edict of the Guild members of 1573, which ordained that "hensforthe their shalbe no more any playes suffered

to be played in this our cōen hall" since the "tumultious" and "impudent" behaviour of a youthful section of the audience had marred "our cōen playes and such lyke exercises w^{ch} be cōenly exposed to be seane for money".[55] The bid for court patronage was the natural consequence of the ban. For the next four years, 1573-6, the Merchant Taylors boys were the preferred company at Shrovetide. The Revels documents record only one further performance by them, again at Shrovetide, in 1583, though Sir James Whitelocke, who became a pupil under Mulcaster in 1575 wrote:

> "I was brought up at school under mr. Richard Mulcaster, in the famous school of Marchanttaylours in London...yeerly he presented sum playes to the court, in whiche his scholers wear only actors, and I on among them, and by that meanes taughte them good behaviour and audacitye."[56]

Mulcaster fell out with his employers and resigned from his post in 1586. However, under his tutelage, the boys of Merchant Taylors had successfully held their own as actors in competition with their rival peers, though, true to form, the Paul's boys survived the years that others came and went, to find themselves, finally, part of the entrepreneurial package that was the first Blackfriars.

There remains the curious case of Shrewsbury School, whose dramatic history does not appear to follow any of the patterns discernible in the other schools so far considered. Shrewsbury town had long enjoyed a rich and varied theatrical life.[57] It played host to visiting companies, and celebrated the season of Pentecost with an Abbot of Misrule[58] and the presentation of at least one lavishly impressive play in the Quarrell, a large open space at the town's periphery which sloped down to the river. In 1564, there was more than a single play.[59] The performance(s) were attended by notables and were subsidized by the corporation. In 1565, "Queen Elizab. made progress as farre as Coventry intending for Salop to

see m^{r} Astons play, but it was ended".[60] Saint plays were a feature of the celebrations. In 1515/6, there was "ludum et demonstrationem martiriorum Felicianae et Sabinae",[61] and, in 1556, "the playe of S^{t} Julian the Apostate".[62] The fullest description of the event is that for the year 1568/9:

> "This yeare at whytsoontyde was a notable stage playe playeed in shrosberie in a place there callyd the quarrell w^{ch} lastid all the hollydayes vnto the w^{ch} cam greate nvmber of people of noblemen and others the w^{ch} was praysed greatlye and the chyffe aucter therof was one master Astoon beinge the head scoolemaster of the free schoole there a godly lernyd man who toocke marvelous greate paynes therin."[63]

Thomas Ashton was the first Headmaster of Shrewsbury School. The initial mention of him in connection with the town is in the Escutcheons of the Bailiffs and Mayors of Shrewsbury, 1372-1725, a document that needs to be approached with considerable caution, since the scribes seem to be recording tradition rather than facts. Entries should, therefore, be interpreted in the light of proven evidence. The Escutcheons record "M^{r} Ashtons first playe in Shrewsbury" in 1552.[64] The granting of the school charter took place in 1551/2,[65] so, if Ashton had been invited to be the school's first principal, it might possibly explain his presence in town as also why he may have been invited to write and/or direct the play at Pentecost. As a Fellow of St John's, Cambridge, he will have had some valuable experience of drama.[66] In 1561, Ashton was officially appointed Head master, in which year the corporation also "spent upon Mr. Astone and a other gentell mane of Cambridge, the xxvth day of Maye over pareadijs, 2^{s}".[67] He has clearly re-established his involvement with the town's theatricals. The Escutcheons further note "M^{r} Ashtons second playe in Shrewsbury" in 1563, the play of 1565 which the Queen was too late for, and "the greate playe of m^{r} Ashtons" in 1567.[68] There is, finally, his contribution to the celebrations of 1568/9 already alluded to. The Drapers

Company voted "fyve pounds"[69] towards the projected cost of the play, which was evidently so considerable that the Corporation agreed to underwrite any over-budgeting.[70] All in all, Ashton's participation in and contribution towards the drama at Pentecost may, I think, be taken as proven. Moreover, the local authority appears to have trusted his honesty and integrity. It will not have escaped notice that he offered his services only every other year, perhaps so as not to be thought to be in dereliction of his educational responsibilities.

Another possible reason why he limited his efforts to every other year may reflect his attitude towards the pupils' participation in events, for it is inconceivable that they took no part in the play production. Ashton's Ordinances relating to the curriculum and the running of the school recommend "too little bookes of Dyalogues drawen owt of Tullyes offices and Lodovicus Vives by Mr Thomas Ashton...and Terence", while "every Thursdaye the schollers of the highest forme before they go to playe shall for exercyse declame and playe one act of a comedye".[71] Humanist principles of education govern his view of learning. The town plays are clearly cast in the old Saint play, cycle style. The plays he provided must, to a large degree, have conformed to that pattern, yet I cannot believe that he did not allow classical influences to permeate the old forms. Thomas Watson's Absalon, performed at St John's, Cambridge, in 1540[72] and highly regarded by Ascham,[73] may well have provided an invaluable model. No manuscript has survived, but from Grimald's two surviving pieces it is possible to gain some impression of the type of play Ashton may have fashioned. The comic episodes, an amalgam of comedia erudita and cycle play diablerie, no doubt provided plum parts for his boys, while seasoned local amateurs will have coped with the serious side. It seems that at Shrewsbury, town and gown acted together in the dramatic celebration of Whitsuntide (nearby Chester likewise favoured the Pentecostal feast), which

is an advance upon the dramatic practices of Winchester and Eton. On the other hand, Ashton probably did not wish to expose his pupils too closely to a tradition that was essentially retrospective. Hence, possibly, the decision to commit himself and his charges only every other year.

It is difficult to gauge exactly how and what drama was done within the precincts of the school itself. The use of "Dyalogues" for the learning of Latin will have provided an initial basis for dramatic interaction. Vives' dialogues,[74] with their emphasis on Tudor schoolboy life, and the natural and courtly world, are cast in a lively mode, while the virtues of Terence hardly require reiteration. By the time scholars reached "the highest forme", they must have brought a fair skill to the playing of comedy. I deduce that productions were mounted upon a raised stage from an extract of the Municipal records wherein the council agreed:

> "...that Whereas the frame of timber that stood in the qaurrell behind the walles is taken doune that the same tymber shale presentlye be deliuered to the schoolmaster to the vse of the schoole accordinglye as mr ashton hathe at this tyme written the which hath bine red."[75]

If Sir Philip Sidney's strictures upon drama are a reliable guide,[76] it is possible the repertoire of plays presented was predominantly classical, works selected for their exemplary embodiment of Aristotelian and Horatian principles of dramatic poetry. In the absence of more concrete evidence, to speculate further is fruitless.

The start of the Elizabethan age finds the forces of drama in education consolidating their gains. The choristers effectively dominate court entertainment aided and abetted by such prestigious foundations as Westminster College, Merchant Taylors School and, on at least one occasion, on Twelfth Night, 1573, by Eton scholars under the direction of William Elderton.[77] The specific

evidence confirms that their repertoire consisted of classical tragedies and comedies, and plays with a romantic bias such as Patient Grissill[78] and Apius and Virginia,[79] works wholly devoid of religious controversy, at most deftly dramatising accepted views on kingship and government such as in Horestes[80] and Thomas Preston's Cambises.[81] Productions are stylish, often lavish, and are realised upon a raised stage whose decor reflects classical principals. Eton is, in addition, presenting plays with a provincial appeal mounted in a manner more elaborate than professional troupes can achieve, plays like July and Julian and, possibly, Misogonus,[82] while Shrewsbury School is co-operating with the local amateurs in keeping alive a performance tradition whose provenance can be traced back to the advent of the mendicant preachers in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and which marks the continued survival of a popular form which pre-dates the Reformation. That, in itself, is remarkable.

ii The Inns of Court

A process of consolidation also distinguishes dramatic evolution at the Inns of Court where it is now possible to form a somewhat fuller picture of developments. To begin with, rhetoric can be seen to have widely infiltrated legal education,[83] not as a tabled subject on the curriculum but as implicit in the numerous moots and bolts that were so fundamental to the practices of the Inns. As with disputatio at the universities, the ability to project and carry an argument effectively was central to legal training. The gestural and verbal skill thus acquired found an additional outlet in the drama which had by now also become a feature of the Inns. Nicholas Bacon observed in the 1560s:

> "In this Christmastime, they /the lawyers/ have all manner of pastimes, as singing and dancing; and in some of the houses ordinarily they have some interlude or Tragedy played by the

> Gentlemen of the same house, the ground and matter whereof, is devised by some of the Gentlemen of the house."[84]

The "ground and matter", it soon becomes clear, often related to their professional interests, which Elizabeth very quickly came to recognise had to do with such leading questions as marriage and the succession, areas which as yet remained within the royal prerogative. Which is where she intended to keep them. The closet Protestantism of the young lawyers of the transitional period emerged in matters that related crucially to the securing of a Protestant succession. Thus the lawyers' Revels frequently focussed upon problems over which they had been silenced in their professional capacity. Shrewdly, they circumvented suppressive measures by 'playing' in 'earnest', by injecting controversial issues into their plays and masques, richly decked out in that emblematic form which, in the past, had merely flattered the monarch. Not for the lawyers the anodyne confections with which the boys entertained the court. The lavish metaphors of their dramatic fare were larded with more pointed and acerbic comment upon thorny issues.

An initial sally was made during the Inner Temple Revels celebrating the Christmas season, 1561/2, when Gorboduc constituted the 'double bill' with Arthur Broke's spectacular Masque of Beauty and Desire,[85] both entertainments played before its patron, Robert Dudley, shortly to be dubbed Earl of Leicester in 1564. He subsequently took both shows to court, where they were performed in the presence of the Queen at Whitehall on 18 January, 1561/2.[86] In the Masque, the Queen is represented as both Pallas, who weds Beauty and Desire, and Andromeda (Beauty); as the body politic and the body natural and, therefore, mortal: the Queen's two bodies. Dudley is, of course, Desire. What the Inner Temple lawyers are recommending, no less, is the marriage of Elizabeth to Dudley, their patron, a solution to the succession question "most

devoutly to be wished".[87] Gorboduc[88] also deals with matters of succession but does so in the form of a dramatised moot or bolt whose admonitory thrust takes in Parliament as well; whose political moral is that

> "...Parliament should haue bene holden,
> And certeine heires appointed to the crowne,
> To stay the title of established right,
> And in the people plant obedience,
> While yet the prince did liue, whose name and power
> By lawfull sommons and authoritie
> Might make a Parliament to be of force,
> And might haue set the state in quiet stay."[89]

The succession problem was subsequently incorporated in a number of masques; one prepared for the proposed meeting of Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots,[90] was cancelled, while another celebrating the marriage of the Earl of Southampton on 12 February, 1565/6, a Lincoln's Inn masque written and produced by Thomas Pound, was not attended by the Queen.[91] However, at the Gray's Inn masque, Diana, pallas,[92] staged at Whitehall on 5 March, 1564/5, the Spanish Ambassador, De Silva, wrote:

> "The plot was founded on the question of marriage, discussed between Juno and Diana, Juno advocating marriage and Diana chastity. Jupiter gave the verdict in favour of matrimony after many things had passed on both sides in defence of the respective arguments. The Queen turned to me and said, 'This is all against me'."[93]

Marie Axton perhaps overstates her case in ascribing political intent to George Gascoigne's Jocasta and Supposes, as also to Richard Edward's Palomon and Arcite staged at Oxford in 1566, even given that both were members of the Inns. Gascoigne was a literate man who sought a reputation beyond the ephemeral, while Edwards was a true man of the theatre for whom playmaking and production were more than mere bread and butter, whose mastership of the Chapel children generated a special loyalty to the sovereign, as is manifest in his scrupulous efforts in the presentation of his play. The cynical alternative is to suggest that he was unlikely to bite

the hand that fed him. His boys twice performed at Lincoln's Inn on the feast of the Purification, in 1564/5 and again the following year,[94] which may mean they were regular visitants. The legal fraternity as readily delighted in the pleasures of entertainment pure and simple. The drama of the Inns may have had a distincitve political tone at this time, but I hazard the guess that their interest in drama ranged beyond such limiting confines to embrace the art in all its richness. I find no trace of visiting professionals during the period under review, though they must surely have entertained the legal fraternity from time to time.

iii The Universities

The new reign did not stir the universities to an excitement comparable to that of the Inns. Rather, the drama would seem to have settled into routine, perhaps a rut even. Only Elizabeth's visits to Cambridge (1564) and Oxford (1566) raised the temperature to any degree above the norm, which is as one would expect in celebrating quite exceptional special occasions. In general, the available evidence is both thinner on the ground and less informative.

Cambridge, as of old, was seemingly the more active of the two foundations. Raised stages are an established feature, while St John's rewards "Henry the paynter", so there, at least, there is painted scenery. All five colleges for which there are records staged plays over the period, but only King's and Trinity notably so. The former surpassed itself for the Queen's visit, though its efforts are not discernible in the accounts, which merely register "expenses about the playes" and the "iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d}...paid to the Quenes ffootemen for their fee for y^{e} canabye wych was caried ouer the quenes maiestee".[95] F S Boas has assembled a full account of the visit. I shall,

therefore, note only a number of relevant facts. The King's hall proved insufficiently large to house "a great stage", so there "was made by her Highnes surveyor & at her own Coste, in the Bodye of the Churche /ī.e. the college chapel/, a gret Stage cōteynyng the Breadth of the Church from thone side unto thother that the Chapells might serve for Houses. In Length it ran twoe of the loer Chapels full, with Pillars, On a syde".[96] The first play given was Plautus' Aululariа, on Sunday, 6 August. King's scholars took no part. As F S Boas observes, "not one of the annalists has a word to say on the remarkable episode of a Plautine comedy being acted on a Sunday evening in a Cambridge college chapel".[97]

Perhaps the use of the chapel will seem less remarkable if one remembers that Godly Queene Hester may well have been performed in one as early as c. 1526. If so, unrecorded stagings in chapel venues could have taken place, however sporadically, in the interim. It remains, still, an extraordinary happening, especially in the light of the play chosen. Prescient observers may have thought it a sign of the Queen's likely response to Puritan onslaughts upon the theatre. The other point worth making concerns the shape of the acting area devised, surely a reproduction of the kind of hall stage with which the boy actors were thoroughly familiar, which they had themselves helped to establish. Place the form within a circle or polygon and it begins to look suspiciously like the shape of things to come at the Theatre and, eventually, the Globe.

The Queen attended two further performances, of a tragedy called Dido and of Nicholas Udall's Ezechias, a play whose blend of serious and comic episodes was akin to Grimald's pieces, which is not surprising from an Oxford man. The choice of Udall's play - for he had died in 1556 - is

usually ascribed to the presence at King's of some of his former Eton and Westminster scholars, but should not the form and content of Ezechias have been recommendation enough, especially in view of its author's proven success in the furtherance of drama in education?

I find the choice of King's as the host college much more surprising judged against the active dramatic life of Trinity. It can only have been because of its royal associations and, possibly, the Eton connection. At Trinity, plays were throughout the period virtually an annual feature, particularly in the early 1560s, when the variety of works performed was impressive, from classical tragedies and comedies to Foxe's Christus Triumphans (1562/3) and continental pedagogic drama - Gnaphaeus' Acolastus (1560/1) and Macropedius' Asotus (1565/6).[98] The year 1559/60 is typical: Hecuba (Seneca? Euripides?), Mostellaria (Plautus), Oedipus (Seneca? Sophocles?) and Sapientia Salomonis (Birck, or an adaptation?). There were also two "english plaies".[99] What also seems clear from the accounts for the same year is that "It^{m} to M^{r} Hawes for his playe" refers to the producer/director not the author, witness the additional reference, "It^{m} to M^{r} Hawys for Mostellaria", the former entry from the Steward's Book, the latter from the Juniour Bursar's Accounts.[100] The steward's entries are on several occasions more specific. For example, the Oedipus of 1559/60 was Mr Oxenbridge's "tragidye", but there were also "chargies...to the bachelars breakfast for their tragidye",[101] which prompts the intriguing speculation that plays were performed in or from the early morning, possibly in a sequence, in imitation of classical practice. In 1562, against "plaiers breakfastes" is noted, "for v playes to y^{e} players breakfasts".[102]

Nothing quite so arresting enlivens the Oxford scene. Even the few details of Christchurch expenses laid out on the Queen's visit in 1566 fail to quicken the blood.[103] The occasion is chronicled by Nicholas Robinson, a Cambridge man, who also covered the visit to his own university, Richard Stephens and John Bereblock, whose Commentarii offers the most detailed account.[104] Three plays were presented. Elizabeth decided to miss the first offering, Marcus Geminus, a prose tragi-comedy, but delightedly attended Richard Edward's two-part Palamon and Arcite, based upon the material of Chaucer's Knight's Tale (2 and 4 September), and Progne, "given by Ovid in the sixth book of the Metamorphoses" (5 September). Bereblock's hyperbolic, almost sensationalist descriptions testify to the lavish and spectacular scale of production, Edward's play requiring hundreds of extras and much pageantry, which included a hunting-party in the woods, a tournament, the victorious Arcyte's death by subterranean fire and the funeral rites around his pyre. Bereblock's evocation of the start of Progne is hair-raising:

> "First there is heard distinctly there a sort of subterranean noise, shut in and fearful. Hence from infernal regions Diomedes ascends. That was truly horrible then: he foams at the mouth, he has flaming head, feet, arms, which flame not with a fortuitous, but with innate, deep-seated burning; he himself in truth is only too wretchedly terrified and distracted with the glowing brands of the furies."[105]

The actors for both pieces were chosen from throughout the university and included John Rainolds, who was later to inveigh against the drama with unexpected virulence.[106] The stage and auditorium were vast and meticulously constructed within Christchurch hall. "On both sides of the stage splendid palaces and stately houses were erected for the actors. Raised on high was set a throne covered with arras and a cloth of estate.

This was for the Queen's use".[107] Little wonder Elizabeth and her entourage were excited and impressed. To Edwards she gave "great thankes wth pmise of rewarde".

Perhaps there was a tradition of spectacular production at Oxford. The Magdalen evidence certainly gives that impression - there is none for the other colleges, except for St John's, where "plaies" were performed on "ye stage" at Christmas, 1568/9.[108] At Magdalen, however, the word for spectacle, in relation to plays, occurs sufficiently often in its varied forms (spectaculorum, spectacula, spectaculis) to satisfy the belief that there, at least, productions set out to stun. Nor was this the case solely with classical pieces. In 1560/1, "iij^{s} iiij^{d}" was paid to "Ioyner pictori, depingenti nomina heræsium in spectaculo quod choristarum moderator æ didit".[109] Finally, in 1575/6, there is a highly significant entry, "Solutum Magistro Lilly pro Histrionibus Comitis Leicestriae, xx^{s}".[110] Lyly attended Magdalen. Were Leicester's men there to perform one of his plays, or there merely by invitation to perform from their repertoire? Here, surely, is early evidence of one of the university wits learning his craft, as also of the professionals - a group led by James Burbage, significantly - breaking into the halls of "the great tradition" at a point in time when they were about to establish themselves upon a permanent basis in London. Were they sounding out a rising young playwright? Presumably, Lyly subsequently opted for boy actors at court in order to avail himself of the facilities for more elaborate presentation than the professionals were at that time able to achieve. They, for their part, had made an initial breach. It was an augury of the decline of the forces of drama in education.

One final point before leaving the universities. Elizabeth's visits to the two foundations were marked by plays of a thorougly traditional nature such as were popular and well-established. There is, however, one play, Misogonus, which rates a special mention. It generates an atmosphere reminiscent of Gammer Gurtons Nedle and exploits the same sly vein of rumbustious, provincial comedy. It requires at least ten actors, including doubling, which makes it an unlikely vehicle for professionals. The text is in imperfect condition, so that the first three extant lines /fol. 1v/ are incomplete. Nevertheless, the Prologue addresses those "w^{ch} doe frequente Pernassus sacrede mount", immediately stirring memories of Redford's Wit and Science, and goes on to pepper his speech with classical allusions.[111] It is a Prodigal Son tale, whose protagonist has "groune to stripplinge yeares" and been indulged by a single parent, the father, who has esteemed "not grāmer and thes latine lessones/ let them studye such which of meaner sort rise",[112] a view he now bitterly regrets. The play follows the prodigal son's steady degeneration, egged on by a parasite/Vice figure, Cacurgus, who also almost prevents the long lost twin brother, fortuitously discovered, from entering into his inheritance at the expense of the profligate sibling. The many parts are deftly characterised, the pace is swift, while the tavern scene (II, iv)[113] is a brilliant invention crackling with lechery, gambling, drinking and dancing - there is a version of strip poker! - which is written in the shadow of the mendicants' art yet which prefigures the scabrous junketings at the Boar's Head in 1 Henry IV. Despite the play's multiple influences - sermons, Roman comedy, Dutch/German pedagogic drama - it is uniquely itself. It richly deserves a modern production. Various commentators have claimed it for Cambridge,[114]

which seems likely. Certainly, it is as original a university piece as Stevenson's play or the under-rated Thersytes, and, like them, I believe it may well have enjoyed a favoured place in the repertoire of, say, Eton, where it would have provided an ideal vehicle, both moral and as entertainment, for local consumption.

At the universities, then, the drama is proceeding smoothly along lines laid down during the previous period of unrest. The amateurs there are secure in their preferences, happy to be of, if not in, the mainstream. They cannot possibly have realised the significance of the visit to Magdalen by Leicester's men, an event made more ominous by Lyly's decision to write for the court, which must have seemed to him the natural progression for an aspirant playwright. He failed to divine the true path of dramatic development. The evolutionary flow was shortly to be dammed, then diverted into new channels to generate an upsurge and a development in English drama whose results have become both the envy and glory of the world.

NOTES AND SOURCES

Chapter V

1 Peter Wentworth was a continual trial, a contentious and opinionated opponent, whose sallies disrupted smooth government. He was, nevertheless, a loyal subject:

> "I will never confess it to be a fault to love the queen's majesty, while I live; neither will I be sorry for giving her majesty warning to avoid her dangers, while the breath is in my belly."

See G R Elton, England under the Tudors (London, 1963), p. 315.

2 Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. II, Part 1 (London, 1971), p. 75.

3 For a full discussion of censorship at this period (1558-76), see Ibid., pp. 75-90; V C Gildersleeve, Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama (New York, 1961).

4 Glynne Wickham (see Note 2), op. cit., pp. 77-8.

5 Ibid., loc. cit.; E K Chambers, The Elizabethan Stage, 4 Volumes. (Oxford, 1923), II, pp. 87-8.

6 See 'Dramatic Records of the City of London: The Repertories, Journals, and Letter Books', MSC II (Oxford, 1931), pp. 298-310.

7 A fair picture of the itinerary of professional troupes may be gained from E K Chambers (see Note 5), op. cit., Chapter XIII, 'The Adult Companies'.

8 See L M Ellison, The Early Romantic Drama at the English Court (Chicago, 1917).

9 Common Conditions, edited by C F Tucker Brooke, from 1st edition (Oxford, 1915).

10 In the early 1570s, for example, the following romances were featured at court by various companies: Cloridon and Radiamanta, Paris and Vienna (which had already earned Vives' disapproval), one based on Heliodorus' Greek romance, Theagenes and Chariclea, and Herpetelus the blew Knighte & perobia. See Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Materialen, Vol. 21 (Kraus reprint, 1968), pp. 145, 175 and 193.

11 The Triall of Treasure, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1908).

12 New Custom, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1908).

13 Impacyente Pouerte, edited by R B Mckerrow, Materialen, Vol. XXXIII (Louvain, 1911).

14 George Wapull, The Tyde taryeth no Man, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1910).

15 Tom Tyler and His Wife, edited by G C Moore Smith and W W Greg (MSR, 1910).

16 Lewis Wager, Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1908).

17 Ibid., pp. 1-2, 11. 8-11, 22-5, 29-35. The pagination and line numeration are my own, the first page of text being p. 1.

18 For Calvinist parallels in Wager's play, see Paul White, 'Lewis Wager's Life and Repentaunce of Marie Magdalene and John Calvin', NQ, New Series, Vol. 28, No. 6 (1981), pp. 508-12.

19 See Glynne Wickham (see Note 2), op. cit., pp. 98-121.

20 The best survey is H N Hillebrand's The Child Actor (New York, 1964 reprint), which deals fully but with an appropriate caution with the principal groups of boy actors. See also E K Chambers (see Note 5), op. cit., II, pp. 8-76; C C Stopes, William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal, Materialen, Vol. XXIX (Louvain, 1910).

21 Leicester Bradner, The Life and Poems of Richard Edwards (Yale, 1927).

22 Richard Edwards, Damon and Pithias, edited by Arthur Brown and F P Wilson (MSR, 1957).

23 Ibid., 1. 375.

24 Ibid., Prologue, 11. 14-16.

25 Ibid., 11. 1085-9, 689-723 and 1894-1932.

26 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 10), op. cit., pp. 34, 116, 145 and 241; 'Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1558-1642', edited by David Cook and F P Wilson, MSC VI (Oxford, 1961), pp. 3, 4, 5, and 9.

27 See H N Hillebrand (see Note 20), op. cit., pp. 115-50; E K Chambers (see Note 5), op. cit., II, pp. 8-23; Trevor Lennam, Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's, and the 'Marriage of Wit and Science' (Toronto, 1975); Reavley Gair, The Children of Paul's (Cambridge, 1982).

28 Liberalitie and Prodigalitie, edited by W W Greg (MSR, 1913).

29 Clyomon and Clamydes, edited by W W Greg (MSR, 1913).

30 Household Accounts of the Princess Elizabeth During her Residence at Hatfield, edited by Viscount Strangford, Camden Miscellany 2, Camden Society (1853), p. 37.

31 See L E Tanner, Westminster School (London, 1934).

32 WAM 38542.

33 WAM 25122* and 25122**, which comprise the Statutes of the Collegiate Church of St Peter, Westminster, as printed in the Appendix to the Report of the Cathedral Commission of 1854, together with an English translation made in 1963 by A D Hughes, Lecturer in Law, King's College, London. Extracts from the Statutes are given in Appendix D below.

34 WAM 25122*, p. 100, and WAM 25122**, p. 61.

35 For a full survey of this ballad-writer and actor, see H E Rollins, 'William Elderton', SP, Vol. XVII (1920), pp. 199-245.

36 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 10), op. cit., p. 193.

37 L E Tanner (see Note 31), op. cit., p. 60.

38 WAM, 54000, 38544, 38542.

39 WAM 38805.

40 WAM 54000.

41 Sapientia Salomonis, an adaptation of Sixt Birck's play of the same title as performed by the boys of Westminster School in 1566, edited by Elizabeth R Payne (Yale, 1938).

42 WAM 38805.

43 WAM 54000.

44 WAM 38805.

45 WAM 43049, 38542 and 38805.

46 WAM 54000.

47 WAM 25122* and 25122** (see Note 34), loc. cit.

48 William Malim, Consuetudinarium Etonense, in Etoniana, No. 5 (1905), pp. 65-71. I quote from a translation made by Harold Perry and published in Etoniana, No. 36 (1923), pp. 562-75.

49 Ibid., p. 569.

50 July and Julian, edited by Giles Dawson and Arthur Brown (MSR, 1955).

51 Ibid., p. 4, ll. 39-40.

52 WMC 22216[a].

53 WCM 22215.

54 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 10), op. cit., pp. 206 and 213.

55 GLMR, MTR, 325, fol. 699.

56 Sir James Whitelocke, Liber Famelicus, edited by John Bruce, Camden Society, Vol. LXXX (1858), p. 12.

57 See H Owen and J B Blakeway, A History of Shrewsbury, 2 Vols. (London, 1825), I, pp. 262, 325-334; Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix X, The manuscripts of Shrewsbury edited by W D Macray (London, 1899).

58 Owen & Blakeway (see Note 57), op. cit., I, pp. 332-3.

59 Shrewsbury Public Library (SPL), Records of the Mercers, Ironmongers and Goldsmiths Company, SPL MS. 4260, fol. 95[v].

60 Escutcheons of the Bailiffs and Mayors of Shrewsbury, 1372-1725, fol. 65[v].

61 W D Macray (see Note 57), op. cit., p. 32.

62 Escutcheons (see Note 60), op. cit., fol. 62[v].

63 Taylor MS, fol. 107[r]. The Taylor MS is lodged in the library of Shrewsbury School. As 'Early Chronicles of Shrewsbury, 1372-1603', it has been transcribed and annotated by W A Leighton in Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological and Natural History Society, Vol. III (1880), pp. 239-352.

64 Escutcheons (see Note 60), op. cit., fol. 60[v].

65 Taylor MS (see Note 63), op. cit., fol. 72[r].

66 See, for example, Sandra Billington, 'Sixteenth-Century Drama in St John's College, Cambridge', RES, New Series, Vol. XXIX (1978), pp. 1-10.

67 Owen & Blakeway (see Note 57), op. cit., I, p. 353.

68 Escutcheons (see Note 60), op. cit., fols. 64[v] and 65[v].

69 Shrewsbury Record Office (SRO), SRO 1831/6/1, fol. 254[r].

70 T H Vail Motter, The School Drama in England (London, 1929), p. 211.

71 Ashton's Ordinances, lodged in the library at Shrewsbury College, pp. 33-4, 30-1. The Ordinances are taken from the original in St John's College, Cambridge, and are entitled Deed for the Regulation and Government of Shrewsbury School: Dated 11 February 1577-8.

72 F S Boas, University Drama in the Tudor Age (Oxford, 1914), pp. 62-4.

73 Ibid., pp. 62-3; Roger Ascham, The Scholemaster, edited by Edward Arber (London, 1903), pp. 139-40.

74 J L Vives, Tudor School-boy Life: the Dialogues (Linguae Latinae Exercitatio) of J L Vives, translated with an introduction by Foster Watson (London, 1908).

75 SRO 76, fol. 196[v].

76 Sir Philip Sidney, An Apology for Poetry, edited by Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester, 1980), pp. 133-7.

77 MSC VI (see Note 26), op. cit., p. 6.

78 John Phillip, Pacient Grissill, edited by R B McKerrow and W W Greg (MSR, 1909).

79 R B., Apius and Virginia, edited by R B McKerrow and W W Greg (MSR, 1911).

80 John Pikeryng, Horestes, edited by Daniel Seltzer and Arthur Brown (MSR, 1962).

81 Thomas Preston, Cambises, edited by J S Farmer (TFT, 1910).

82 Misogonus, in Early Plays from the Italian, edited by R W Bond (Oxford, 1911).

83 D S Bland, 'Rhetoric and the Law Student in the Sixteenth Century', SP, Vol. LIV, No. 4 (1957), pp. 498-508; R J Schoeck, 'Rhetoric and Law in Sixteenth-Century England', SP, Vol. L, No. 1 (1953), pp. 110-27.

84 Marie Axton, The Queen's Two Bodies, Royal Historical Society (London, 1977), p. 6. For much of what follows I am greatly indebted to Chapter 4 of Marie Axton's fascinating book.

85 See D S Bland, 'Arthur Broke's MASQUE OF BEAUTY AND DESIRE: A Reconstruction', RORD, Vol. XIX (1976), pp. 49-55.

86 Henry Machyn, The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, 1550-1563, edited by J G Nicholls, Camden Society, Vol. XLII (1848), pp. 273-5.

87 For a detailed explanation of the allegory see Marie Axton (see Note 84), op. cit., Chapter 4, and 'Robert Dudley and the Inner Temple Revels', The Historical Journal, Vol. XIII, No 3 (1976), pp. 365-378.

88 Thomas Sackville and Thomas Norton, Gorboduc (Scolar Press, 1968).

89 Ibid., sig. H, ii^{v}.

90 Marie Axton (see Note 84), op. cit., pp. 48-9.

91 Ibid., p. 50.

92 Albert Feuillerat (see Note 10), op. cit., p. 117.

93 Calendar of State Papers: Spanish, 1558-67, pp. 404-5, quoted in Marie Axton (see Note 84), op. cit., p. 49.

94 Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: Black Book, Vol. I, 1422-1586, edited by J Douglas Walker (London, 1897), pp. 344, 348 and 352.

95 'The Academic Drama at Cambridge: Extracts from College Records', edited by G C Moore Smith, in MSC II, Part 2 (1923), p. 217.

96 F S Boas (see Note 72), op. cit., p. 91.

97 Ibid., p. 93.

98 G C Moore Smith (see Note 95), op. cit., pp. 161 and 165.

99 Ibid., p. 160.

100 Ibid., loc. cit.

101 Ibid., loc. cit.

102 Ibid., p. 162.

103 F S Boas (see Note 72), op. cit., p. 106.

104 W Y Durand, 'Palaemon and Arcyte, Progne, Marcus Geminus, and the Theatre in which they were acted, as described by John Bereblock (1566)', PMLA, New Series, Vol. XIII (Kraus reprint, 1961), pp. 502-28. W Y Durand presents extracts, substantial in the case of Bereblock, of all three chroniclers, offering his own translations of Bereblock and Robinson. Professor Wickham warns of defects in the Durand translations,

so that it is as well to consult the original, James Bereblock, Commentarii de Rebus Gestis Oxoniae ibidem Commorante Elizabetha Regina, A. D. MDLXVI, in Elizabethan Oxford, edited by Charles Plummer, Oxford Historical Society (Oxford, 1887), pp. 114-50.

105 W Y Durand (see Note 104), op. cit., p. 514.

106 John Rainolds, Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes, 1599 edition, (London, 1972 reprint).

107 This translation of Bereblock's text is by Mr Dacre Balsdon and Mrs Dora Pym made for Professor Wickham who, in considering the relevant section of the commentator's description of the theatrical conditions, has unravelled the obscurities and complexities to reconstruct accurately the imposing theatre space prepared for the performance of the plays presented before Elizabeth. See Glynne Wickham, Early English Stages: 1300-1660, Vol. I (London, 1981), Appendix H, pp. 355-9.

108 'The Academic Drama in Oxford', edited by R E Alton, in MSC V (Oxford 1959-60), p. 76.

109 Ibid., p. 56.

110 Ibid., p. 60.

111 Misogonus (see Note 82), op. cit., pp. 174-5.

112 Ibid., p. 178, 11. 75-6.

113 Ibid., pp. 203-14.

114 See G L Kittredge, 'The "Misogonus" and Laurence Johnson', JEGP, Vol. III (1901), pp. 335-41; G C Moore Smith, 'Misogonus', TLS, No. 1484, 7 October (1930), p. 576; David Bevington, 'Misogonus and Laurentius Bari na', ELN, Vol. I (1964), pp. 9-10.

CONCLUSION: A SUMMARY

I began the present study with the tale of an ant to a nightingale, a cautionary tale which tells of the depravement of a callow, provincial youth by a trio of conniving metropolitans. The fraudulent lawyer directs the gullible victim towards two of the foremost theatres of the day, the Globe and the Blackfriars, fashionable staging-posts for an aspirant gallant on the make. Middleton, the seasoned playwright, knew about such people and places. So, too, did the mendicant preachers who invaded England in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries upon a crusade to reclaim good Christian men and women from the Siren allurements of secular entertainment, which threatened to undermine the word of God and to tempt mankind along the highway to damnation. Ironically, the drama that evolved from their homiletic art came itself to represent the epitome of corruption so that, by the latter half of the sixteenth century, Rainolds, Gosson and a host of Puritans thundered against the medium with a sustained venom.

In the beginning, the drama helped preach the Word. In streets and market-places, cycle plays performed by local amateurs and sponsored by the guilds and civic corporations spread the Gospel in colourful, emblematic tableaux which derived their style from the pageants and progresses associated with royal events, but shot through with the more abrasive art of the migrant performers who crowded the seasonal fairs and enlivened taverns. The stories of these plays were drawn from the Bible, at a later date from the lives of saints, stories which embodied the fundamentals of a universal faith whose truth and efficacy resided in the

Incarnation, the Passion and Resurrection of the Saviour; whose outcome would achieve a resolution in the awesome moment of the Last Judgment. And, just as the homilists humanised belief by relating their exempla to the known world of the onlooker, so, too, did the devisers and writers of pageant plays characterise their Biblical people as instantly recognisable contemporary types.

In time, the itinerant performers sought a more stable means of making their art pay. They banded themselves into small groups of four men and a boy, which allowed them to combine a range of skills in the presentation of short, scripted plays which they were able to perform as part of the indoor pageantry of royalty and its entourage. These moral interludes, which they staged in liveried halls, allegorically dramatised faith within a framework which was itself a tragic-comic metaphor of belief. A representative of mankind was first tutored in the essentials of faith, was tempted by the forces of darkness, succumbed to them and plummetted into sin, from whence he was eventually rescued by the merciful envoys of the Almighty. If that seems a dull scenario, the improvisatory and musical talents of the professionals infused it with a lightness and panache which won them universal favour. The monarch and his nobles patronised companies to provide occasional entertainment, which the latter were then able to take on the road for personal gain. They canvassed a wide audience, performing in a range of venues; outdoors in market-places and tavern-yards, indoors in the halls of guilds, abbeys, schools, universities and Inns of Court. This pooling of individual talents to a common benefit began, I have suggested, as early as 1410, if my reading of the evidence at

Winchester College is correct.

The players of both cycle plays and interludes were men whose roots were buried deep in the communal life of a Catholic England, from whence they drew a rich sustenance. However, the Church had not entirely erased the atavistic and pagan influences that clung to those roots. Common folk might celebrate Christmas feasts but a primal memory lent to them a subliminal significance which had to do with existence in a mysterious and often inimical world, with an expiatory response to misfortune, which was carried over into Christian belief, so that community solidarity and ties of kinship provided a sense of safety and engendered a robust and tenacious will to survive. I have throughout applied to this process the phrase "the little tradition". This education for life was essentially experiential and pragmatic, its lessons learnt from living not books. There were thus areas of the individual as well as the collective psyche which the Catholic faith (and, later, Protestantism) could not penetrate. When, therefore, the children of "the little tradition" brought their art into the halls of what I have called "the great tradition", the effect was electrifying.

Education in "the great tradition" prepared men for a life in which individual choice mattered little. Those of inherited wealth and status ruled by right; others, by entry into the clergy, embarked upon an alternative route to power and influence. The one perpetuated a chivalric right to rule, the other forged an educational tradition founded upon the primacy of faith over politics - Aquinas and Marsilius of Padua were the most persuasive champions of the latter stance, though they brought to it the

pioneering impact of an emergent classicism which was soon to engulf the European world. In so far as the drama of "the little tradition" was an education for life, its revolutionary nature is most effectively observed in Henry Medwall's two original masterpieces, Nature and Fulgens and Lucres, for both introduced the face of a fickle yet life-enhancing humanity into an art whose emblematic formalism was in danger of lapsing into a complacent and enervating stasis. It is true that the new humanism had made significant inroads upon the state of the nation, but indigenous changes intensified by the dynastic turmoil of the Wars of the Roses had already given the impetus to change. Medwall's Nature humanises the allegory of mankind in the wake of the homilists - Man will later re-surface as Hal, Pryde as Falstaff. Fulgens and Lucres signals the advent of a new world in which there will be greater equality of opportunity, one in which success will need to be earned not taken as read. Human fallibility is seen as a creative force when tempered by a knowledge and virtue which is acquired both experientially and by learning. It is why Medwall's two works tower above contemporary examples of the interlude form whose generally anodyne didacticism only occasionally presents a tougher veneer, as in Hyckescorner and Mundus et Infans. Reared in "the great tradition" but with a knowledge of "the little" gained from the itinerant troupes that visited Eton, Medwall understood the value of education in drama and made plays which were to launch the drama in education upon a radical, evolutionary path whose influence was to reach far into the future.

The Reformation in England hastened the next major change in the drama.

Because of the educational potential of the interlude form, the professionals were impressed to propagandise the new faith. The boy actors, however, were more fortunate. At Eton, which stood at some distance from the eye of the storm, they were able to build upon their experience of touring groups and upon the legacy of their distinguished alumnus. The pupils of Colet's school of St Paul's, founded upon humanist principles of education, were invited, as a result, to play at court; a comedy by Terence and a political satire in Latin, the lingua franca. Their links with the adjacent almonry of St Paul's meant that the choristers were soon to take to the stage themselves. Under the guidance of three remarkable men, John Heywood, John Redford and Sebastian Westcott, the last two their choirmasters, the Paul's boys were eventually to become Elizabeth I's favourite company. Heywood and Redford effected a breakthrough which Westcott exploited and developed. The three men were also close friends, so that their influence upon each other cumulatively had an unprecedented effect upon the future of drama.

While there can be no certainty as to who precisely performed Heywood's output, I have argued that the Paul's choristers benefitted in some capacity from his advances. He caught the tenor and taste of the times, so he dramatised dispute for performance by boys. In so doing, he eschewed controversial issues and concentrated, instead, upon making wholly secular entertainments. At least three of his pieces, inspired by the attributes of French farce, look beyond the court to that wider audience tapped by the touring troupes. Unfortunately, his revolutionary insight was thwarted by the political climate. The professionals' loss was the boys' gain. Redford, however, tackled the problem head-on.

In Wit and Science, he made a play for his choristers which by-passed religious issues and addressed itself forcibly, albeit delightfully, to the new men in government, Medwall's meritocrats. In providing them with a dramatic mirror to their own aspirations and beliefs, he inaugurated a form of drama whose impeccable and unimpeachable sentiments won for it and for the boy actors an unassailable position at court, especially since stylistically it was made to exploit the technical resources to hand. Building upon his friend's startling and original concept, Westcott undoubtedly pressed home the advantage while adding to the boys' experience by exposing them to other dramatic modes in guild halls and private houses. It needed only a single appearance before the Princess Elizabeth to whet her appetite. Thereafter, the success of Paul's boys is history.

The triumph of the Pauline choristers opened the door to other institutions. Scholars from Westminster College, Merchant Taylors School and Eton performed before the Queen, while the Chapel children, under Farrant and Hunnis, regained a popularity they had not enjoyed since the palmy days of William Cornish. Farrant also successfully promoted the choristers of the Chapel at Windsor. However, at Elizabeth's accession, at least one professional company, scenting the possibility of court patronage, unobtrusively came in from the cold. I have suggested that Burbage and his fellows may have changed their repertoire, emboldened, perhaps, by Leicester's patronage and in the light of their visit(s) to Oxford. Their acquisition of a license to perform in London on weekdays paved the way to their residence in the Theater. Perhaps, too late, Farrant divined the augury, though I do not believe so. When he opened

the Blackfriars, he was, I think, motivated more by the hope of financial gain than by a premonition of the threat posed by Burbage's company.

The real irony is that, while the agents of drama in education, the boy actors, enjoyed an almost unrivalled success as entertainers, the masters who promoted them failed to take account of those literate young men whose experience of the process in schools and universities had fired them with the urge to write plays for posterity upon themes less ephemeral and didactic than those which currently held the stage, men such as Kyd, Marlowe, Jonson and Middleton. These (and other) children of "the great tradition" were soon to repay the debt to their peers of "the little". That tradition's singular qualities were to reach their zenith in the person of William Shakespeare, whose triumph has blinded not only many a denizen of academe but also good men and true to the extraordinary achievements of the boy actors. Although their eclipse was inevitable, it must have been galling for them, in old age, to reflect how others rode in where they had beaten the path. Not only did they popularise drama where it mattered most, that is, where evolution was possible, but they established its form, they alerted both playmakers and playwrights to the varieties of material that were susceptible to dramatic treatment, they demonstrated that plays could cross class barriers to engage the inheritants of both traditions, and they provided the model for an effective playing space. As recently as 1979, in a pioneering collection of articles on the Theater edited by Professor Herbert Berry, Richard Hosley, in describing the stage of the Theater, remarks:

> "Presumably the Theater stage was rectangular, like that of the booth stage which most investigators postulate as the immediate ancestor of the Elizabethan playhouse stage." 1

The Theater's stage was surely modelled upon the rectangle of the halls at court upon which the boy actors practised their art, which was itself an advance upon those late-Medieval banqueting halls in which the professionals had earlier played (see Fig. 1, Appendix I). In that the professionals may claim a share in the evolution of the Elizabethan stage, as also in the circle with which they circumscribed the rectangle.

It is my hope that the present work has done something to rescue drama in Tudor education from the dark neglect in which it has for so long been buried. In doing so, perhaps a clearer picture has emerged of the role of the professionals, the purveyors of an education in Tudor drama without which the average Englishman may not have been spurred to fight for the opportunities denied him by those of inherited wealth and status. I hope, too, that such fine works as, for example, the plays of Medwall, John Heywood, Redford, Bale's Kyng Johan, Occupation and Idleness, Godly Queene Hester, Nice Wanton, Respublica and Misogonus, to mention a handful of personal favourites, may at last be viewed in the true perspective of their contribution to the evolution of the English drama. The history of the Elizabethan stage does not begin in 1558, a fact that cannot be demonstrated too often.

NOTES AND SOURCES

Conclusion: A Summary

1 Richard Hosley, 'The Theatre and the Tradition of Playhouse Design', in The First Public Playhouse: The Theatre in Shoreditch, 1576-1598, edited by Herbert Berry (Montreal, 1979), p. 50.

APPENDICES

INTRODUCTORY COMMENTS

Appendices A to E record the evidence relating to dramatic activity at five of the leading schools which, in their varying ways, throw light upon the evolution of pre-Shakespearean drama.

In presenting the evidence, I have adopted the following ground rules. Archival numbers are placed in standard brackets after the year date. Square brackets encompass readings which are uncertain and establish the date upon which a feast day falls. They also enclose any editorial gloss upon a transcription.

Only those references which bear directly upon the drama have been set down. Visits by ministralli and by other kinds of entertainer have been included only if they are essential to a clearer understanding of the dramatic records.

The method of presentation also applies to Appendix H, extracts from BL Additional MS 60577 illustrative of the literary qualities of clerical writers at Winchester College which have an especial relevance to Occupation and Ildeness (see Chapter III, pp. 153-61).

APPENDIX A

WINCHESTER COLLEGE MUNIMENTS (WCM)

Extracts relating to drama taken from the Bursarial Accounts and Hall Books of Winchester College

The Bursarial Accounts and Hall Books are to be found in the muniments of Winchester College, Winchester, Hants. I am grateful to the Warden and Fellows of the College for permission to study them and to make the transcriptions given below.

The account rolls studied span the years 1394-1556, though there are years for which the rolls are missing. Thereafter, the accounts are in volumes of bound quires; between 1556-1576 only those for the year 1558-9 are missing. Unless otherwise indicated, all extracts before 1549/50 are taken from Foreign Expenses or Costs; thereafter, they are from Necessary Costs.

The Hall Books studied span the years 1395-1520, though there are years for which the books are missing and many of the books are incomplete.

1398/9 (22084)

In dat' lusoribus Civitatis Wyntōn ven' ad coll'
cū suo tripideo ex curialitate xij^{d}

1407/8 (22090)

In dat' ministrall civitatis Wyntōn in fsō Stōrum
Innocenciū /28 December/ ij^{s} vj^{d}

1409/10 (22091)

In dat' /int'/ lusoribus Civitatis Wyntōn die stōrum
Innocenciū /28 December/ ij^{s}

1410/11 (22092)

In dat' lusoribus ludentibus in aula in die Stōrum Innocenciū /28 December/ xx^{d}

In dat' ministrall dnī Regis xij^{d}

In dat' lusoribus de villa xij^{d}

1411/12 (22093)

In dat' lusoribus ven' ad collegiū in festo stōrum Innoc' /28 December/ xij^{d}

1413/14 (22095)

In dat' lusoribus ven' ad Collegiū tempe /natlis/ dnī xx^{d}

1440/1 (22116)

In datis mimis dnī Cardinal venientibus ad Collegiū in festo Innoc' /28 December/ cū xij^{d} dat' hogoni mimo & soc' suo venient' ad coll altera via ij^{s}

Et in datis mimis Civitatis Wyntōn ex mandato Custodis xij^{d}

Et in datis vni mimo tenenti de Elyng iiij^{d}

1459/60 (22132)

Et in datis mimis sū* ministrall Comitis de Arūdell ex Curialitat' Dnī Custodis xx^{d}

*/recte cū 7

1465/6 (22135)

Et in datis iiij^{or} mimis Dnī de Arūdell veniētibus ad Coll xiij^{o} die ffebruar' ex curialitate dnī Cust' ij^{s}

1466/7 (22136)

Et ī datis ministrall Regis venientibus ad coll iiij^{o} die Maij cū viij^{d} datis Citharedo Manricij Berkeley viij^{o} die Augusti cū xij^{d} datis iiij ministrall alijs venientibus ad collegiū iij^{o} die Octobris et cu viij^{d} datis lusoribus de Civitate Wyntōn venientibus ad coll in apparatu suo mense Julij v^{s} viij^{d}

1468/9 (22138)

Et in datis mimis Civitatis Winton & alijs duobus mimis veniēt ad Coꝛt in septīāna Natal' Dn̄i — xvj^{d}

Et in datis iij mimis dn̄i Regis veniētibus ad Colleg' mese Junij — xij^{d}

1469/70 (22139)

Et in datis iij mimis venientibus ad Coꝛt Ī fō Nativitatis dn̄i /25 December/ — xij^{d}

Et in datis vni ioculatori veniēt' ad colleg' in mēse octobris — viij^{d}

1474/5 (22144)

Et in Solutis Satp̄is Wynton fō epn̄ie cū ij^{s} datis iiij Int'ludentibus & J. meke Citharista* eodem festo /6 January/ — iiij^{s}

*/The ending should be Cithariste, dative case./

1477/8 (22147)

Et in datis Johnī pontisbery et soc' suis ludentibus in Aula in die circūsis'* /1 January/ cū ij^{s} datis Satrapis Winton in festo Epiphīe /6 January/ — iij^{s}

*/recte circūcis'/

1499/1500 (22163)

Et in solutis ministraꝛt dn̄i de Arundell venient' ad Collegiū xv^{mo} die Januarij ad mandatū Custodie xx^{d} cū viij^{d} solutis vni Ioculatori dn̄i regis — ij^{s} iiij^{d}

1520/1 (22179)

Et in solut' joculatori regis ad mādatū dn̄i cust' — xx^{d}

1525/6 (22184)

Et in solut' mimis dn̄i Arundeꝛt — ij^{s}

VOLUME III (22215)

1564/5 (2nd Quarter)

Custus Domorum: Itm̄ p̄ expēsis factis circa ludos in ferijs natalicjs vt patet p̄ billā xj^{s} vj^{d}

1568/9 (4th Quarter)

Itm̄ in regardis datis mimis dn̄e Regīe ad p̄cept' d. Custodis vs

1570/1 (4th Quarter)

Itm̄ in regardis datis lusoribus Dn̄e Regine vj^{s} viij^{d}

VOLUME IV (22216^{a})

1573/4

Custus Aule: (2nd Quarter) Itm̄ p̄ diuersis expēsis circa scaffoldā erigēd' et deponēd' et p̄ domūculis de novo cōpositis cū cariag' et recariag' ly ioystes et aliorū mutuat' ad eādē scaffold' cu vij ly linckes et j^{a} duoden' cādelarū p̄ lumine expēsis 3^{bus} noctibus in ludis comediar' et tragediarū xxv^{s} 8^{d}

(3rd Quarter) Itm̄ Rogero Darneley p̄ vij ly linckes deliberatis pe: m^{r} Infor: p̄ ludis iij^{s}

(4th Quarter) Itm̄ Rogero Lynie p̄ j^{o} fune ad appēdend' navī in aula xij^{d}

Itm̄ Jo: Chappingetō p̄ labore suo in removēdis organis e tēplo in aula et p^{re} parādis eisdē erga ludos v^{s}

HALL BOOKS

The Hall Books were a means for calculating the sums to be entered in the Bursar's Account Rolls as the weekly allowances for commons or daily meals. For every week of the year a separate list of the whole community was drawn up under the superintendence of the Steward of Hall. Each week of a book ends with a diary noting the daily guests (jurnelli) in hall.

1401/2 (22815)

(2nd Quarter) 2nd week, Saturday - Duo histriones ad p̄n̄ cū so' /ād prandium cum sociis/*

*/The form ad prandium cum sociis is that most frequently used in the Hall books at the end of entries. To avoid endless repetition, I note the fact here and do not include it in the transcriptions that follow./

(3rd Quarter) 12th week, Tuesday - iiij istriones

1415/6 (22820)

(2nd Quarter) 6th week, Tuesday - iiij hist'ones ducis Gloucest'
8th week, Tuesday - iij histriones

(3rd Quarter) 5th week, Sunday - j hist'

1416/7 (22821)

(2nd Quarter) 6th week, Thursday - vj ~~hy~~ histrion' dn̄i Gloucestr'

1432/3 (22825)

(2nd Quarter) 3rd week, Sunday - iij histriones ~~iij fiscellatores~~ de villa

1436/7 (22827)

(3rd Quarter) 5th week, Thursday - Duo histriones

1442/3 (22829)

(2nd Quarter) 2nd week, Friday - Duo mimi dn̄i Cardinal'

1446/7 (22831)

(2nd Quarter) 1st week, Saturday - Mimus Cardinal'
Thursday - iij mimi civitatis Wyntōn̄

1460/1 (22836)

(2nd Quarter) 4th week, Monday - Tres mimi

1462/3 (22837)

(2nd Quarter) 9th week, Monday - iij mimi

1464/5 (22838)

(1st Quarter) 8th week, Wednesday - ij mimi de Romesay

(3rd Quarter) 3rd week, Sunday - iij mimi

1465/6 (22839)

(2nd Quarter) 7th week, Thursday - iiij^{or} mimi dn̄i Arūdell

1468/9 (22840)

(3rd Quarter) 6th week, Thursday - Q'dā mimus
11th week, Monday - iij mimi dñi Regis

1473/4 (22841)

(4th Quarter) 11th week, Thursday - viij mimi regis anglie

1475/6 (22842)

(3rd Quarter) 12th week, Wednesday - iiij mimi dñi Regis Anglie

(4th Quarter) 6th week, Wednesday - Pat' Johis Pontysbury /see Bursarial Accounts for 1477/8/

1478/9 (22843[b])

(4th Quarter) 6th week, Thursday - ij mimi

1479/80 (22844)

(3rd Quarter) 5th week, Thursday - ij mimi
9th week, Thursday - ij mimi

1480/1 (22845)

(1st Quarter) 5th week, Thursday - quidam mimus

(2nd Quarter) 1st week, Sunday - quidam mimus

(3rd Quarter) 3rd week, Sunday - Duo mimi
9th week, Saturday - Duo mimi

(4th Quarter) 5th week, Sunday - Duo mimi
6th week, Friday - v mimi
9th week, Sunday - iij mimi

APPENDIX B

ETON COLLEGE RECORDS (ECR)

Extracts relating to drama taken from the Audit Rolls and Audit Books of Eton College

The Audit Rolls and Audit Books are to be found in the archives of Eton College, Windsor, BERKS. I am grateful to the Provost and Fellows of the college for permission to study them and to make the transcriptions given below.

The Audit Rolls span the years 1444-1505, with several gaps. The first five Audit Books cover the period 1505 –82, but several years' quires have not survived. All extracts are from the Foreign or Necessary Expenses or Costs unless otherwise shown.

ROLLS

1447/8 (AR/A/3)

Et in Reg^{o} dat' lusoribus p ostens' ludi ibm̄ iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1479/80 (AR/C/6)

Et vj^{s} viij^{d} dat' mimis dn̄i regis visitantibus colle^{m}
xiiij die aprilis ex man^{to} m. ppo^{ti}

Custus Scolarii: Et in denarijs solutis vxori nup Wi~~ll~~mi
bemond p cōis henrici medwall infirmi
p iij septi^{as} /xxiv^{d}/*

*/The sum is not entered in the MS. The figure has been arrived at by subtracting other expenses from the total. The absence of a figure may indicate that Mrs. Bemond was not paid./

1482/3 (AR/D/1)

Et in regard' dat' quibusdm̄^{a} mimis p m. pposit' cst̄i^{o}
Circucis' Dnī /1 January/ saltant' corā m. pposit'
et soc. xx^{d}

1484/5 (AR/D/2)

Et ī regardo dat' cuidā citharedo ī die Scī Nichō /6 December/ ex mandat' m. ppositi viij^{d}

1485/6 (AR/F/1)

Et dno Willmo pennyngton et Gilberto pictori p laboribus suis et ornamentis ludenciū ī fō natalis /25 December/ xvj^{d}

1486/7 (AR/F/2)

Et lusoribus de Uxbrygge in /festo/* Assumpcīois /15 August/ ex mādato m. ppo^{ti} viij^{d}

*/A tentative reading of a faded word not clear under ultra-violet./

1488/9 (AR/F/3)

Et mimis dnī regis visitan^{tibus} colleg' circit' festum nati^{tis} bte' marie /8 September/ iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1492/3 (AR/F/4)

Et in regardis dat' mimis dnē Reg^{ie} ex mādato m. ppo^{ti} ij^{s}

Et in regardo dato ex man^{to} m. ppo^{ti} vni cāta^{ri} noīe Normā xx^{d}

Et in regardis datis hist'o^{bus} dnī p^{ri}ncipis /Prince Arthur/ ex mādato m. ppo^{ti} xij^{d}

1493/4 (AR/F/5)

Et in regardis mimis dnē regine ij^{s}

1498/9 (AR/F/9)

Et c^{er}tis mimis regine p mrm ppoīt' ij^{s}

1499/1500 (AR/F/10)

Et in regardis datis mimis dnē regine ad mādatū m. pposit' ij^{s}

1500/1 (AR/F/11)

Et in regardis datis mimis Ducis eboracens' /the future Henry VIII/ ad mādat' m. pposit' xij^{d}

BOOKS

VOLUME I (AB/1)

1505/6

Et histrionibus dn̄i Regis in regardo mandat' m. ppoīti ij^{s}

1519/20

Et Georg vestifici p ornamēto lusorio vj^{s} x^{d}

1523/4

Et dn̄o misrule ex fālia dn̄i regis in regardo iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1525/6

Et p expens' circa ornamenta ad duos lusus in aule tempe natalis do' x^{s}

1526/7

Et m. informatori apparatu lusorum tempe natali c'sti xiij^{s}

VOLUME II (AB/2)

1532/3

Et vni equitanti ad /m̄anerium/ Do' Derby p apparat' lusorum x^{d}

Et m^{o} infor^{ri} pro vestibus ad vsum lusorum in fō natalis v^{s}

1533/4

Et famulo dn̄i Wyndesor affereti vestimēta dn̄i sui p lusoribus xvj^{d}

Et p repatioe vestimētorum lusorū in tepe nati^{tis} Christi iij^{s}

1534/5

Et p repacoe vestimentorum lusorum in tpē natalis x^{i} iij^{s} iiij^{d}

VOLUME III (AB/3)

1550/1

Itm to Mr. Vssher for an Interlude that was plaide in the haull — vj^{s} viij^{d}

Itm to Indman for ij Cotes makinge braunched wth golde — ij^{s} viij^{d}

Itm to hym for clothe to a fooles cote — xij^{d}

Itm to hym for making ij payre slops — viij^{d}

Itm to hym for makinge ij cotes garded wth gilted lether — xx^{d}

Itm to hym for makinge a kassocke — x^{d}

paide to John Indma for making players garmentes

Itm to hym for mending a kassocke — ij^{d}

Itm for cotten to ij Cootes — iiij^{s} viij^{d}

Item for making an half kirtell of redd sylke — iiij^{d}

Itm for lyning to the same — x^{d}

Itm for cotten to garde ij cotes — xij^{d}

Itm to hym for mendinge a Coote — ij^{d}

Itm to Thomas Mylton for makinge fower players garmentes — iiij^{s}

Itm to Holt for ij paire of slops makinge — viij^{d}

paide to Thomas Mylton & Holt for making of players garmentes

Itm to hym for gardinge a cote — vj^{d}

Itm to hym for Cotten to the gardes — vj^{d}

Itm for painting hattes & vysars — vj^{d}

Itm to Mr. Barker for John Indma mendinge the vicesse Cote — viij^{d}

Extranei: Itm a Barrell of beare spent vpon Strangers at the play in the haull iiij^{d} vj^{d}

1551/2

Itm for purfoite for makinge of ij girkinges for players viij^{d}

1552/3

Itm for viij pounde of chandels for ij plays xij^{d} And for one lynke v^{d} xvij^{d}

Templum: Itm to John serchefelde for A booke of the Homolyes xvj^{d}

Cubuculum puerorum: Itm paide vnto him /Mr. Scolem^{r} - this is deduced from the preceding entry./ for bearddes to the players in christenmas v^{s} viij^{d}

Itm vnto hym garde for ij skynnes of gilte leither ij^{s}

Itm paide vnto hym to pay Bell the tailor wth all theis pcells follow as here after ffollowith$_{d}$
In primis for maiking a blew cloke xiiij^{d} and for iij q^{r}ts of A yeard of yallow for gards for the same vij^{d}
Itm for maikinge A black cloke xiiij^{d} and for v yeards & 3 q^{r}ts of cotton for the same iij^{s} iiij^{d} and for mendinge players coottes iiij^{d} and for maikinge a mayse and for giltynge the same iiij^{d} vj^{s} xj^{d}

Repationes: Itm paide to Oliver the Charpenter for settinge vp the staige y^{e} furst of Januar' vj^{d}

1553/4

Itm for Candles for the children to playe by in the haull Wynter ix^{d}

Itm paid to Bromfilds for ij quyer of pap and nedles and thread to sowe coverletes vpon the stage vij^{d}

Cubiculum Puerorum: Itm to Bromfilds wief for nedles and thread to sowe coverletes vpon the stage at Christmas ij^{d}

ffortuita damna: fforgotten by the boursars for the yeare to the scholem' for rehersyng of the comedies for ij kylderkynes xvj^{d} ob

1554/5

Custos Aulae: Itm to the children in candle when they dyd play in the haull & for Henrye Boste vj pounde — ix^d

1555/6

Thynges for playes set fourthe by m^r Schole m^r at Christm^as

In primis for v. yardes of Cotton to make hose & gyrkins — iij^s viij^d

Itm for makinge of the same — iij^s iiij^d

Item for A cappe of Cotton & makinge — vj^d

Item for A doblet & hose of buckram & making — ij^s ix^d

Item for A buckram bagge lacyd — vj^d

Item for browne pap — viij^d

Item for laces to the vysards — j^d

Item payde to the mynstrelles for ij nights — v^s

Item to M^r Kyltermysters servaunte for bringinge of Apparell from hys m^r — xij^d

Custus aulae: Item for candelles spente in thawle after supp_r the chyldren playinge there & also at m^r Boosts dirige — xiij^d

1556/7

Item for ij ells of Canvas at ix^d thell — xviij^d

Item for mendinge of the players Raymentes — viij^d

Item for mendinge of a doblet & payre of hoose — x^d

Item to the mynstrelles — ij^s vj^d

Item for whyte and Browne paper — x^d ob

Item for packthreade and Tynfoyle — vij^d ob

Item for wyars to mende a payre of vyrgynalles — vij^d

Custus Aulae: Item for candles spent yn the haull the children playing there — xij^{d}

1557/8

Cubiculi Puerorum: Itm̄ delyveryd to M^{r} Schole M^{r} at playes — iiij^{s} ix^{d}

Custus Aulae: Itm̄ candelles for the playes & y^{e} children — ij^{s}

1558/9

Custus Aulae: Itm̄ for Chandelles spent in the Halle on festivall nyghtes by the Children — xij^{d}

1560/1

Itm̄ for ij paire of Hoose & ij Dublettes of Rugge for players in Christemas — ix^{s}

Itm̄ for Torches, gunpowder, Plaite Pawper and Thrume etc. — vj^{s} vj^{d}

Itm̄ to Clement for Pytche & Tarre, 4^{o} aplis — x^{d}

VOLUME IV (AB/4)

1565/6

Itm̄ spent at the playe in Candels x pounde — xv^{d}

Itm̄ for Tenter hookes for the playe — xviij^{d}

Itm̄ payde to M^{r} Scholemaster, towardes his Charges About the playe the Laste Christmas — xx^{s}

1566/7

Itm̄ to John Hawthorne carpente^{r} & his man, 9^{o}. februar' for makyng tressels & scaffoldes for the stage$_{d}$ & taking it downe vj daies & a halfe iuxta xx^{d} y^{e} daye — x^{s} x^{d}

Itm̄ to Willm̄ fferye of Burnehm̄ abowt the same worke 9^{o}. februar' for v dayes & a halfe, iuxta xij^{d} — v^{s} vj^{d}

Itm̄ to ffraunces Skydmore & Rychard Moore$_{d}$ for iiij dayes & a halfe abowt the same worke iuxta ix^{d} & x^{d} ye day 9^{o}. ffebruar'. — vj^{s} viij^{d}

Itm̄ to Thomas Baylye for carredge of ij loades of timber before Christmas 13°. ffebruar.' iij^{s}

Itm̄ to Jackson & Bartlett for xiij lynckes for y^{e} playes iiij^{s} j^{d}

Itm̄ to M^{r} Scholemaster for his charges, setting fourth ij Playes 19°. Martij iij^{li} xiij^{s} viij^{d}

Itm̄ to Besant for iiij staff tortches for /our/ plaies v^{s}

Custus Reparationum: Itm̄ to Lucas for sawyinge x hundred & iij q^{rs} for tressels, plankes & joyses, for the Scaffold about the stage, 9°. ffebruarij iuxta xx^{d} xviij^{s} iiij^{d}

1567/8

Itm̄ payd for iiij tortches & one lyncke at the shewes iiij^{s} iiij^{d}

Itm̄ spent at y^{e} shewes this yeare iij dossen /candles - as deduced from the preceding entry./ v^{s} vj^{d}

1568/9

Itm̄ for ij Dossen of linckes at iij^{d} the lincke for y^{e} Childrens showes att Christmas vj^{s}

Itm̄ spent this yeare in plaies and showes iij Dossen viij poundes v^{s} vj^{d}

1570/1

Itm̄ iiij poundes of candles for the shewes at Christmas 1570 xij^{d}

1571/2

/The accounts for this year are followed by a series of more specific accounts, e.g. of the Bakehouse, the Brewhouse, the Slaughterhouse etc. There follow a number of inventories in a new book separately paginated. The fourth inventory is of Players Clothes. It carries no date. The other inventories range in dating from 1549 to 1595./

Players' cloathes

iij Cassockes of redde silke gardid wth blewe
j Cassocke of blacke velvet gardid wth redde silke

j Cassocke of whyte silke gardid w^th^ blacke
ij Coates of blacke clothe, bothe duble gardid w^th^ gilted leather
j Cloke of blacke caresaye /kersey/ single gardid w^th^ gilted leather
j Cloke of blewe gardid w^th^ yelowe cotten
ij Coates of redde burdekin duble garded w^th^ blacke cotten
ij servantes cotes of blacke cotten welted w^th^ yelowe
a servantes cote of whyte & blacke cottē / checker wourke
a svantes cote of redde & whyte cottē / checker wourke
ij servantes cotes for children w^ch^ hathe one quarters of redd silke & an other of blew silke
j womens cassocke of blewe silke gardid with redd brāched flowers
ij womens cassockes of white silke thone opē before, thother close
ij Jerkens of Redd w^th^ fringe rownde abowte
ij Pares of kirtles for womē thone of golde thother of red silke
a hatte, clothe of golde
vj payer of sloppes
vj berdes of the longeste sorte
vj berdes of the shorteste sorte
iij coarse cawles for the servantes
a mace of wood, gilted

VOLUME V (AB/5)

1572/3

Item to M^r^ Wi~~ll~~m Day m'cer for lynckes at Moysers playe xij^d^

Custus Aule: Item for vj poundes of candles at the playes in the halle ix^d^

APPENDIX C

THE CHILDREN OF PAUL'S

A record of Performance

The performance history of the Children of Paul's is not easy to trace, despite a number of books that purport to do so. H N Hillebrand's The Child Actors and Trevor Lennam's Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's and 'The Marriage of Wit and Science' provide the least fallible accounts of their activities uncluttered by peripheral detail. The present appendix brings together what known references to performances by the boys I have been able to winkle out, be they by the Coletine scholars or by the choristers. It is probably fair to say that, after the launch of Redford's Wit and Science, the young actors came exclusively from the choir school. Up to that point I have argued that there is no clearcut indication as to which institution the boy actors were recruited from.

In the Reference column, I have adopted the following abbreviations in the interests of space and economy.

Benbow	R Mark Benbow, 'Sixteenth Century Dramatic Performances for the London Livery Companies', NQ, New Series, Vol. 29, No 2 (1982), pp. 129-31.
C/MS	E K Chambers, The Medieval Stage, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1967).
CSP. Ven.	Calendar of State Papers and Manuscripts: Venetian, Vol. IV (London, 1871).

F/EM — Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Revels at Court in the time of King Edward VI and Queen Mary, Materialen, Vol. 44 (Kraus reprint, 1968).

F/QE — Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Office of the Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Materialen, Vol. 21 (Kraus reprint, 1968).

Hall — Edward Hall, Chronicle (London, 1809).

Lennam — Trevor Lennam, Sebastian Westcott, the Children of Paul's and 'The Marriage of Wit and Science' (Toronto, 1975).

Machyn — Henry Machyn, The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, 1550-1563, edited by J G Nicholls, Camden Society XLII (1848).

MSC — Malone Society Collections.

Reed — A W Reed, Early Tudor Drama (London, 1926).

Strangford — Viscount Strangford (Ed.), Household Accounts of the Princess Elizabeth During her Residence at Hatfield, Camden Society, Camden Miscellany , Vol. II (1853).

The Malone Society Collections here referred to include the following valuable material: 'A Calendar of Dramatic Records in the Books of the Livery Companies of London: 1485-1640' (MSC III) and 'Dramatic Records in the Declared Accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber, 1558-1642' (MSC VI).

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
c. 1521/2	?	Court?	Witty and Witless (John Heywood)?	See Chap IV above.
c. 1526/7	Christmas	Court?	A Play of Love (John Heywood)?	See Chap IV above.
c. 1527/8	?	?	The Play of the Wether (John Heywood)?	See Chap IV above.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
c. 1526-9	?	?	The Foure PP (John Heywood)?	See Chap IV above.
c. 1526-9	?	?	The Pardoner and the Frere (John Heywood)?	See Chap IV above.
c. 1526-9	?	?	Johan Johan (John Heywood).	See Chap IV above.
1527	27 November	Greenwich	Anti-Imperialist satirical play.	Hall, pp. 735.
1528	7 January		Phormio (Terence).	CSP Ven., IV, p. 115.
?	?	?	Dido (Ritwise)?	C/MS, II, p. 215.
1538	March	?	"an interlude...before my lady grace" (Princess Mary).	Reed, p. 58
c. 1538-40	?	Court?	Wit and Science (John Redford).	See Chap. IV above.
1551/2	Winter	Hatfield House	?	Strangford, p. 37.
1553	Easter and/or May	Court	"A playe"	F/EM, pp. 141 & 142.
1557	?	Drapers Hall	An "Int'lude".	MSC III, p. 139.
1559	5-10 August	Nonsuch House	A play.	Machyn, p. 206.
1559-61	?	Tallow-chandlers Hall	"An Enterlude".	Benbow, p. 130
1560/1	Christmas	Whitehall	"Entreludes".	MSC VI, p. 1.
1561/2	Christmas	Whitehall	"Interludes".	MSC VI, p. 1.
1562	Shrovetide?/ February?	Whitehall	"an Interlude"/A play.	MSC VI, p. 1/Lennam, p. 59.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1562/3	Christmas	Whitehall	"for playing before the quenes Ma^{tie}".	MSC VI, p. 2
1564/5	Christmas/January	Whitehall/?	"a playe"/"playes" with Westminster scholars	MSC VI, p. 2/F/QE, p. 117.
1565	Candlemas	Whitehall	"a playe".	MSC VI, p. 2.
1565/6	Christmas	Hampton Court	2 plays	MSC VI, p. 2.
	c. Christmas	Durham House, Strand.	A play.	MSC VI, p. 2.
1566/7	Christmas	Whitehall	"ij playes".	MSC VI, p. 2.
1567/8	Christmas	Whitehall	"ij sondry plaies".	MSC VI, p. 3.
1568/9	1 January	Windsor	"a playe".	MSC VI, p. 4.
1570	28 December	Windsor	"a playe".	MSC VI, p. 4.
1571	Shrovetide	Whitehall	"three plaies", with Children of Chapel.	MSC VI, pp. 4-5.
	28 December	Whitehall	Effiginia a Tragedye.	MSC VI, p. 5; F/QE, p. 145.
1572/3	Christmas	Hampton Court	"the playe".	MSC VI, p. 6.
1573	27 December	Whitehall	Alkmeon	F/QE, p. 193; MSC VI, p. 7.
1575	2 February	Hampton Court	"a play".	F/QE, p. 241; MSC VI, p. 9.
1576*	1 January	Hampton Court	The historie of Error.	F/QE, p. 256.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1576	6 January	Hampton Court	"a playe".	MSC VI, p. 10

*/It is possible that the boys gave but a single performance, in which case one or other date is a mistake of the scribe. Alternatively, there may indeed have been two separate performances, on the 1st and 6th respectively./

APPENDIX D

WESTMINSTER ABBEY MUNIMENTS (WAM)

Extracts relating to Drama at Westminster College

The documents relating to drama at Westminster College housed in the Abbey Muniments concern only the grammar school. Since the choirboy actors also made a considerable contribution to the dramatic life of the times, I have appended a record of performances by both institutions after tht Muniment findings. Where it is clear which group of boys are performing, I have placed (C) and (G) in normal brackets after the details of the work performed: (C) for choirboys, (G) for grammar school boys.

The extracts from the college Statutes (1561) are taken from a photocopy of the Statutes of the Collegiate Church of St Peter, Westminster, as printed in the Appendix to the Report of the Cathedrals Commission of 1854 (WAM 25122*). The English translation (WAM 25122**) was made in 1963 by A D Hughes, Lecturer in Law, King's College, London. The Latin text is the official version of the Statutes.

I am grateful to the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey for permission to study the relevant documents and to make the transcriptions given below.

Extracts from the College Statutes (WAM 25122* and 25122**)

1. "...volumus ut in his eligendis praecipua ratio habeatur docilis ingenii, bonae indolis, doctrinae, virtutis et inopiae: et quo magis quisque ex eligendorum numero his rebus coeteros antecellat, eo magis (uti aequum est) praeferatur,..." (p. 87).

/...we wish that in selecting them (candidates for the grammar school) the greatest weight be given to gentleness of disposition, ability, learning, good character and poverty; and insofar as any one candidate excels in the possession of these qualities, he shall, as is proper, be preferred./

2. "...deinde eorum qui in nostram scholam Westm^{r} sunt admittendi: solum autem tales in nostram scholam recipiendi sunt, qui ad minimum et memoriter octo partes grammaticae probe didicerint, et qui scribere saltem mediocriter noverint." (p. 88).

/...provided that only those be admitted to our school who have at least learnt the eight parts of speech by heart, and can write fairly well./

3. "Et ne nimio scholarium numero praeceptores onerentur, statuimus ne ex omni genere scholarium plures centum viginti, praeter choristas, unquam in scholam admittantur, aut ineadem esse permittantur." (p. 89).

/In order that the master shall not be overburdened by an excessive number of scholars, we lay down that the number of scholars of all kinds to be admitted, or allowed to remain in residence shall not exceed one hundred and twenty, excluding the choristers.

4. De Commoediis et Ludis in Natali Domini exhibendis

"Quo juventus majori cum fructu tempus Natalis Christi terat, et tum actioni tum pronunciationi decenti melius se assuescat: statuimus, ut singulis annis intra 12^{m} post festum Natalis Christi dies, vel postea arbitrio decani, ludimagister et praeceptor, simul Latine unam, magister choristarum Anglice alteram comoediam aut tragoediam a discipulis et choristis suis in aula privatim vel publice agendam, curent. Quod si non praestiterint singuli, quorum negligentia omittuntur decem solidis mulctentur." (p. 100).

/In order that the boys may celebrate Christmastide with greater benefit, and may better accustom themselves to orderly action and elocution, we ordain that every year within the 12 days after the feast of the Nativity of Christ, or later if the Dean so decides, the Headmaster and the Assistant Master shall provide for the performance by their scholars, either privately in hall, or publicly, of a comedy or tragedy in Latin; the Master of the Choristers shall provide for a similar performance by the Choristers in English. If this is not done, each one whose negligence has caused this omission shall be fined ten shillings./

5. "Statuimus et ordinamus ut in ecclesia nostra praedicta sint decem choristae, pueri tenerae aetatis et vocibus sonoris ad cantandum, et ad artem musicam discendam, et etiam ad musica instrumenta

pulsanda apti, qui choro inserviant, ministrent, et cantent. Ad hos praeclare instituendos, unus eligatur qui sit honestae famae, vitae probae, religionis sincerae, artis musicae peritus, et ad cantandum et musica instrumenta pulsanda exercitatus, qui pueris in praedictis scientiis et exercitiis docendis aliisque muniis in choro obeundis studiose vacabit. Hunc magistrum choristarum appelari volumus. Cui muneri doctores et baccalaureos musices aliis praeferendos censemus... Prospiciat item puerorum saluti, quorum et in literis (donec ut in scholam nostram admittantur, apti censebuntur) et in morum modestia et in convictu educationem et liberalem institutionem illius fidei et industriae committimus...Choristae postquam octo orationis partes memoriter didicerint et scribere mediocriter noverint, ad scholam nostram ut melius in grammatica proficiant singulis diebus profestis accedant, ibique duabus minimum horis maneant, et a praeceptoribus instituantur." (p. 92).

/We ordain and decree that there be in our said church 10 choristers, boys of tender age, and of powerful voices, who are capable of singing, and learning the art of music, and also playing musical instruments, to serve minister and sing in the choir. To provide them with the best instruction there shall be chosen a man of good repute, godly life, sincere devotion, who is skilled in the art of music and practised in singing and performing of musical instruments, who shall studiously devote his time to instructing the boys in the aforesaid knowledge and sciences and other duties to be performed in the choir. Him we wish to be styled the Master of Choristers. And for this post we consider that doctors and batchelors of music should be preferred to others...He shall also see to the health of the boys whose education and liberal instruction both in learning (until they be considered fit to be admitted into our school) and in conduct and manners we commit to his good faith and industry...The Choristers after they have learnt by heart the eight parts of speech and can write fairly well shall proceed every week day to our school, to the end that they shall proceed more proficient in grammar and shall remain there two hours at least, and be instructed by masters./

1413/4 (24267)

Dona dat': Itm dat' Pueris de Elemoiaria ludentibus coram dno apd Westm — iij^{s} iiij^{d}

1521 (33301, fol. 11^{r})

It^{m} payd for wrytyng of plays — v^{s}

1522 (33301, fol. 15^{r})

ffyrst in reward to master Cornysh on Seynt Edwardis /13 October/ day in october a^{o} xiiij^{to} — x^{s}

1525 (33301, fol. 19r)

It^m payd for wryttyng of a play for the chyldern xvj^d

1564/5 (38273)

To M^r schoole mayster for y^e charges of playse lix^s x^d

1564/5 (43049)

Thexpenses of twoo playes vz Heautontimoroumenos Terentij and Miles gloriosus Plauti plaied by the children of the gramer Schoole in the colledge of Westminster & before the Quenes maiestie a^o 1564

Imp'mis att y^e rehersing before ser Thomas Denyer for pinnes and finger candee vij^d

It^m the second tyme att the playing of heautonti: for pinnes half A thowsand vj^d

It^m for A Lynke to bring thapparell frō the reuelles iiij^d

It^m bestowed vppon three gentlewomen that did attyre the childrene iiij^d

It^m att the playing of miles glor: in M^r Deanes howse for pinnes half a thowsand vj^d

It^m for frankincense j^d

It^m geuen the same tyme to W^m Dayly for pinnes ij^d

It^m geuen to m^r Secretarie his armorer to furbish againe certaine armor borrowed of him xij^d

It^m to his man ij^d

It^m for bote hyer to bring apparell frō y^e reuelles iiij^d

It^m for finger candee for the children ij^d

It^m geuen to m^r Holte yeomā of the reuelles x^s

It^m to his men iij^s iiij^d

It^m att the playing of miles gloriosus befor the Quenes maiestie for pynnes Di: thowsand vj^d

It^m for bote hyer to cōueye apparell frō y^e reuelles vj^d

It^{m} for frankincense		j^{d}
It^{m} to W^{m} Smythe for ryall pap inke & colors for the wryting of greate Letters & for A box of cōfettes for the children	iij^{s}	iij^{d}
It^{m} to m^{r} Tayler his mā for going vpp & downe to diverse places in London		xij^{d}
It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Holte	x^{s}	
It^{m} to his men	iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
It^{m} to A woman attyring y^{e} children		xij^{d}
It^{m} to m^{r} Secretaie his armorer		xij^{d}
It^{m} for ij saltes w^{ch} were Loste	iij^{s}	iiij^{d}
It^{m} for buttered beere for y^{e} children being horse		xij^{d}
It^{m} for one Plautus geuen to y^{e} Queenes maiestie and fowre other vnto the nobilitee	xj^{s}	
It^{m} geuen to the dromer for y^{e} Lone of his drome		xij^{d}
And for a blackjack	iij^{s}	

1565/6 (54000)

(1.)

Expenses for the furniture and setting forthe of A plaie entytled Sapientia Salomonis, plaied of the children of the grammar schoole before the counsell. Janua: 17, 1565*

*/The actual date of performance was 17 January, 1566, so the date here must represent the accounting period 1565/6. The same observation holds true for the accounts of the staging of Plautus' Menaechmi on 8 February./

Imp'mis for three quiar of fyne pap for three copies of the saide Enterlude	xviij^{d}
It^{m} for twoo other quiar of meane pap for twoo other copies of the sayde entrelude	viij^{d}
It^{m} for paper otherwise bestowed in wryting owte the childrenes partes	xij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Allen his sonne, att thappointement of m^{r} Deane., for wryting twoo copies of the saide entrelude thone in text, thother in romane hande	vj^{s} viij^{d}
It^{m} for the bynding of one copie in vellume wth the Queenes Ma^{tie} hir armes & sylke ribben stringes	ij^{s}
It^{m} for the bynding of fowre other copies in vellum wth stringes of sylke	ij^{s} viij^{d}
It^{m} for vermilon to make redd inke for intremingling the L$\overline{\text{res}}$ of the sayde copies therwth	viij^{d}
It^{m} for blacke inke to wright the same	iiij^{d}
It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Smythe for paper, golde foyle, redd & blacke inke bestowed in drawing Lettres of the tytle of the sayde entrelude & the names of thowsen	xij^{d}
It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Vssher for colors & golde foyle bestowed in coloring the children faces & in gylting the garlandes for the ploges	vij^{d}
It^{m} geuen for an instrumente called a payre of peaces occupied of one the plaiers	iiij^{d}
It^{m} for twoo yardes of brode saye for the Quene of Saba hir heade	xij^{d}
It^{m} for pines to pinne vpp the canapee	iij^{d}
It^{m} for perfumes for the chambre	viij^{d}
It^{m} for greate pines to pinne vpp the L$\overline{\text{res}}$	ij^{d}
It^{m} for A thousand of small pinnes	vij^{d}
It^{m} for ii boxes of dredge to cleare the children	xvj^{d}
It^{m} geuen for botehier for the conveiance of thapparell from the reuelles vnto Westminster & fr$\bar{o}$ thence vnto the reuelles againe	xxj^{d}
It^{m} geuen to thofficers of the reuelles	xiij^{s} viij^{d}
It^{m} geuen to A tayler for making fytt the childrenes attyre attending vppon theim one hole daye	ij^{s}
It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Tayler his man for his botehyer to & fro, conueying his m$'^{r}$es apparell and instrumentes fr$\bar{o}$ London vnto Westminster & for his paines taken therein	xij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to A Trompeter vij^{s}

It^{m} geuen to A womā that brawght hir childe to the stadge & there attended vppō itt xij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to a painter for drawing the cytee & temple of Jerusalem, & for paynting towres v^{s}

(2.)

Expenses for the setting forthe of A Comedie of Plautus entytled Menchmi plaied of the children of the gramm^{er} schoole before the Counsell febr. 8. 1565

Imp'mis geuen to m^{r} Smythe for pap redd & blacke inke bestowed in drawing the tytle of the comedee & the names of thousen xij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Vssher for golde foyle and colors bestowed on the garlandes & otherwyse vij^{d}

It^{m} for paper geuen vnto the children to wryght owt their partes therewth xij^{d}

It^{m} for A thowsand of pinnes for the children rep'senting weomen vij^{d}

It^{m} for botehyer to & fro conueying thapparell frō the reuelles and in retorning the same againe thereunto xxj^{d}

It^{m} geuen to A tayler working on hole daye in making fytt the childrenes attyre xij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to thofficers in the reuelles xiij^{s} iv^{d}

It^{m} paied for the blade of A raper & for the scabberd of vellet, w^{ch} being borrowed of thearle of rutland was by euill happ broken in the plaie vj^{s} viij^{d}

It^{m} geuen for A Comede of Plautus bawght for thuse of the children iij^{s} iiij^{d}

Sum$^{\bar{a}}$ xxix^{s} iij^{d} p^{d} to M^{r} Browne

p^{d} Item x^{d} more to hym for the making vpp agayne of ij copes that weer occupyed abowt the playes ij^{s}

1566/7 (38544)

Thexpenses of A Comedie of Plautus vz Rudens plaied before the

Cōusell by the children of the gramer schoole, a^{o} dōi 1566*. febr. vj^{to}

*/See comment on entry for 1565/6./

Imp'mis geuen to ser Thomas Denyer his man for his paines in going to the Reuelles wth A warrante from his maister for to haue attyre for the plaiers — ij^{s}

It^{m} geuen to the Clerke comptroller of the reuelles — vj^{s} viij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to other vnder officers there — xj^{s}

It^{m} geuen to twoo tailers for making thattyre fitt for the plaiers — iij^{s}

It^{m} geuen for botehier to m^{r} Holtes mā ronning & going wth thattyre — vj^{d}

It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Smyth for pap, inke & colors for the drawing of greate Letters — xij^{d}

It^{m} for drinkes & dredge for certaine of the children being horse — xviij^{d}

It^{m} for pap for theim to wright owt theire partes & otherwise bestowed — xvj^{d}

It^{m} geuen vnto twoo of m^{r} Perines maides for attyring the children — viij^{d}

It^{m} for A haddocke occupied in the plaie — iiij^{d}

It^{m} for A thousand & a halfe of pines greate & small — xj^{d}

It^{m} for packthrede — ij^{d}

It^{m} for A booke & halfe of golde — viij^{d}

It^{m} for /any/ botehyer vpp & downe in prouyding & fetching thinges necessarie for the comedee — xxj^{d}

1567 (38543)

Thexpenses of a plaie sett forthe att Putneie before my L. of London and other by the grammer schoole Septemb. 4 1567.

Imp'mis for the cōueiance of m^{r} Tailer his attyre fro London to puttneie & from thence to London againe by water — ij^{s}

It^{m} for the cōueiance of attyre frō the Reuelles vnto Putneie & frō thence to y^{e} Reuelles againe — ij^{s}

It^{m} geuen to m^{r} Holtes man attending vppon thattyre att Puttneie & helping to make the same fytt for y^{e} children — v^{s}

It^{m} geuen to his other man receauing thattyre againe — xij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to the trompeter — ij^{s}

It^{m} to the baggpype plaier — xij^{d}

It^{m} for ij whistles — j^{d}

It^{m} for frankincence — j^{d}

It^{m} for packthredd to make whreathes & garland of yvie — iiij^{d}

It^{m} for pinnes — vj^{d}

It^{m} for whight threade to sowe yvie Leaves on the childrenes surplesses — vj^{d}

It^{m} geuen for the cōveiance of diuerse parcelles borrowed att London as basones iauelinges etc — xx^{d}

1569 (38805)

Mostellaria. The charges of A comedie in Latten plaied before the cōusell by the children of the gramer schoole.

It^{m} for canvesse 5 elles to make cotes for furies — ij^{s} iij^{d}

It^{m} for making theime — xij^{d}

It^{m} for browne pap to make visardes for furies — viij^{d}

It^{m} for pines greate & smale — x^{d}

It^{m} for golde foyle — xij^{d}

It^{m} for twoo whippes, whipcorde for the same & other corde — viij^{d}

It^{m} for a holly water sprincle — iij^{d}

It^{m} for the Lone of A thondre barrell & to twoo men w^{ch} brawght the same & thondered — ij^{s}

It^{m} for flaxe for the furies heare, & for womenes heare & for dying the same — xiiij^{d}

It^{m} for aqua vitae & suger candee for the children — xij^{d}

It^{m} for threde black & whight — ij^{d}

It^{m} for pap for the greate Lettres drawen thereuppō & for the congering circle & otherwise occupied — xij^{d}

It^{m} for rosen & frankincens for vermilon, & egges & to make redd ink — viij^{d}

It^{m} geuen to the painter for paintyng the furies cotes, for paintyng so muche cāvesse as couered An howse & for olde clothe for the same purpose — viij^{s}

It^{m} to twoo taileres for making fitte the childrens attyre brawght frō the reuelles attending vppō theim also in the plaie tyme — ij^{s}

It^{m} to two weomen for attyring the children playing Weomens partes — xij^{d}

It^{m} for borowing of diuerse implemētes as glasses, calles, sleaves ruffes etc — xvj^{d}

It^{m} for butter beere & dredge for the children being horse — xviij^{d}

It^{m} geuen emonge thvnder officers att y^{e} reuelles — x^{s}

It^{m} for the cōueyance of thattyre by cart once and by water in ij botes — xx^{d}

It^{m} for botehyer vpp & downe sending for furniture wanting — vj^{d}

It^{m} geuen to twoo for repaste attending att ye reuelles for attyre — vj^{d}

A Record of Performance

In the Reference column, I have adopted the following abbreviations in the interests of space and economy.

F/QE Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Office of Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Materialen, Vol. 21 (Kraus reprint, 1968).

Clode C M Clode, The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors, 2 Vols. (London, 1888).

MSC Malone Society Collections.

Nicholl John Nicholl, Some Account of the Worshipful Company of Iron mongers (London, 1864).

Stow John Stow, Survey of London, edited by J Strype, 2 Vols. (London, 1720).

WAM Westminster Abbey Muniments.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1413/4	?	Westminster	"ludentibus corā dn̄o".	WAM 24267
1522	?	Westminster?	"plays".	WAM 33301
1523	13 October, St. Edward, the Confessor	Westminster?	Entertainment?/Play? presented by "Cornysh"?	WAM 33301
1525	?	Westminster?	"a play"	WAM 33301
1561	4 October	London	The Mayor's pageant - the children "sung and playd". (C)	Clode, II, p. 269.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1562	11 May	Guild-Hall of Fraternity of Parish Clerks	"a goodly Play...with Waits, and Regals, and Singing". (C)	Stow, II, v, p. 231
1564/*5	January	?	Plays. (G)	F/QE, p. 117.
1564/5*	?	Westminster	"playse": Heautontimoroumenos (Terence) and Miles Gloriosus (Plautus). (G)	WAM 38273, 43049.

*/It could well be that these two entries record the same occasions, especially since the Revels reference is to "cayrtene playes by the gramar skolle of westmynster"./

1566	17 January	Westminster	Sapientia Salomonis (adaptation of Sixt Birck). (G).	WAM 54000.
	8 February	Westminster	Menaechmi (Plautus). (G).	WAM 54000.
	Shrovetide	?	"a playe" under John Taylor. (C).	MSC VI, p. 3.
	October	London	Lord Mayor's pageant - "...as well for the speeches as songs". (C).	Nicholl, p. 86.
1567	6 February	Westminster	Rudens (Plautus). (G).	WAM 38544.
	4 September	Putney	"a plaie". (G).	WAM 38543.
1567/8	Christmas	Whitehall	"a plaie". (C).	MSC VI, p. 3.
1569	?	Westminster	Mostellaria (Plautus). (G).	WAM 38805.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1572	Shrove Tuesday	Whitehall	Paris and Vienna. (C).	F/QE, p. 145.
1574	1 January	Whitehall	Truth, ffaythfullnesse, & Mercye under Elderton. (C).	F/QE, p. 193

APPENDIX E

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO DRAMA AT SHREWSBURY SCHOOL

Evidence relating to the practice of drama at Shrewsbury School is to be found in documents lodged at the school and at the Shrewsbury Record Office. I have, therefore, presented my findings under those relevant headings.

An understanding of the nature of dramatic activity at the school requires a knowledge of the town's involvement with drama, so that a fair amount of the evidence below concerns Shrewsbury Town. To this end, I have been selected in my choice of material, bearing in mind always the need to illumine the dramatic life of the school. The facts presented may at first seem random, but they do cumulatively build a lively and comparatively detailed picture of the school's ties with the drama.

I should like to express my thanks to the school Librarian and to Mrs M Halford at the Record Office for their help and co-operation during my researches.

SHREWSBURY SCHOOL

1. Taylor MS

1551/2 (fol. 72^{r})

This yeare by the labor of one Hughe Edwȓades of Salop and late of London mercer and master Rychard Whyttackres being as thys yeare one of the baylyffes of thys town of Shreusbury was laboryd to the Kyn̄gēs m^{ti} for anuetie of xx^{li} for and towȓades the mayntenance of a free scoole in the sayde towne of shreusbu' for ev' w^{ch} was obtaynyd to the greate p'fermēt of the youthe of that towne and the

quarters there adioyninge in good lernīge and godly educaction the w^ch^ scoolehowse ys sytuat nere vnto the castle gate of the same towne vppon a goodly p^o^spect.

1568/9 (fol. 107^r^)

This yeare at whytsoontyde was a notable stage playe playeed in shrosberie in a place there callyd the quarrell w^ch^ lastid all the hollydayes vnto the w^ch^ cam greate nvmber of people of noblemen and others the w^ch^ was praysed greatlye and the chyffe aucter therof was one master Astoon beinge the head scoolemaster of the free schoole there a godly lernyd man who toocke marvelous greate paynes therin.

2. Ashton's Ordinances

Item every Thursdaye the schollers of the highest forme before they go to playe shall for exercyse declame and playe one act of a comedye and euery Saturdaye versyfye and against Mondaye morning gyve vp ther theams or Epystles and all other exercyses of wrytynge or speaking shalbe vsed in Latten. (p. 30-1).

Item there shalbe read in the sayd schole for proese in Latten Tully Caesar his commentaries Salust and Lyvye also too litle bookes of Dyalogues drawen owt of Tullyes offices and Lodovicus Vives by Mr Thomas Ashton sometime Chief scholemaster of the sayd schole for verses Vyrgyll Horace Ovyde and Terence for Greeke the greeke grammar of Cleonarde the Greeke testament Isocrates ad demonicum or Xenophon his Cyrus and these authors or some of them mencioned in the Table for manner of teaching to be read in the schole according to the head scholemaster his discression and choise as shal serue best for the childrens capasytye. (p. 33-4).

3. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifteenth Report, Appendix, Part X; The Manuscripts of Shrewsbury etc. (London, 1899).

Municipal Registers

1495 - Pro vino dato domino Principi [Arthur] ad ludum in quarell, cxs. iiijd. (p. 31).

1515/-16 In vino, pomis, waffers, et aliis novellis datis et expenditis super abbatem Salop et famulos suos ad ludum et demonstrationem martiriorum Felicianae et Sabinae in quarera post muros, iijs.

In regardo dato lusoris (sic) euisdem martirii tunc temporis hoc anno, xs. (p. 32).

1518 - In vino expendito super tres reges Coloniae equitantibus in

interludio pro solacio villae Salop in festo Pentecost, iiijd. (p. 32)

1533 - Soluta Thomae Eton pro factura unius mansionis /in the Quarry/ cum duobus stagiis pro dom. Presidenti /Bishop of Exeter/ et ballivis tempore ludi septimana Pentecostes, ij^{s}. (pp. 33/4)

Et in regardo dato lusoribus ad dictum lusum pro reparacione ornamentorum suorum, xxs. (p. 34)

In expensis factis in garniamentis, liberatis et histrionibus pro domino abbate de Marham tempore mensis Maii pro honestate villae hoc anno, vjs. vijd. (p. 33)

1552/-3 Expendit. per ballivos et assoc.^{s} suos die lune in le Whitsonwuck post visum lusum, iij^{s} viij^{d}.

Pro tunicis et aliis^{s} vestimentis ac pistur' earundem pro Robyn Hood, lix^{s} iij^{d} ob.

In vino dato eisdem interlusoribus, xiiij^{s}. (p. 36)

1556, 16 May: The bailiffs to set forward the stage play this next Whitsontide for the worship of the town, and not to disburse above £5 about the furniture of the play. (fol. 18b)

1570, 8 July: A lease is granted three people for ten years of pasture called "Behinde the walles, exceptinge the Quarrell where the plaies have bine accustomyd to be usyd."

4. Escutcheons of the Bailiffs and Mayors of Shrewsbury, 1372-1725

The compilation was begun by Robert Owen, Gentleman and Herald at Armes, who died in 1632. His work was continued by others, notably one Joseph Baynes, who has provided a longhand preface to the volume dated December, 1668. The comments written on the opposing page to the Escutcheon for any year need to be viewed with extreme caution. None of them are ascribable to Owen, though Baynes' hand is more readily identified and I have indicated this by placing his name in square brackets after an entry. The commentators seem to be recording tradition rather than facts. The entries need, therefore, to be interpreted in the light of proven evidence.

1552 (fol. 60^{v})

M^{r} Ashtons first playe in Shrewsbury /Baynes??/

1556 (fol. 62^{v})

This year was the playe of S^{t} Julian the Apostate played in the quarrell

The play called Anot & Magot /Baynes/

1560 (fol. 63^{v})

*...playe vpon the passion of Christe /Baynes/ begon in Salop /added later, it would seem, by another hand/

*/The top outer corner of the page is torn so that only part of the comment remains on the extant leaf./

1563 (fol. 64^{v})

M^{r} Astons second play in Shrewsbury /Baynes/

1565 (fol. 65^{v})

Queen Elizab. made progresse as farre as Couentry intending for Salop to See m^{r} Astons play, but it was ended /Baynes/

1567 (fol. 65^{v})

It is recorded by some that the greate playe of m^{r} Ashtons in salop was this yeare /Baynes/

SHREWSBURY TOWN

The following abbreviations are used in reference to documents:

SRO - Shrewsbury Record Office

SPL - Shrewsbury Public Library

The manuscripts usually held by the Public Library are temporarily housed in the Corporation building pending their return.

5. Draper's Company (SRO 1831/6/1)

11 Elizabeth: 1569 (fol. 254r)

Itm̄ they /the Company/ be aggreid at this assemblye that the seid Baylieff shall paye and give to mr Ashton towardes the setting furthe of the pley at Whitsontyde the sum of fyve poundes.

6. Mercers, Ironmongers and Goldsmiths Company (SPL MS 4260)

1556: 15 May (fol. 81v) - At which assembley /...../ was made by the sayde wardens to the company what they wold be cōsent to geve towarde the furnyture & charge of a playe at Whitsontyde next to be played in the qwarell behynde the walles wherunto mr Bayliffes haue requyred the ayede of this f'lowshippe of the mercers etc' whereuppon they haue agreed to be cessed

1564: March (fol. 95v) - ...the bailiffs required the ayde and assistance of this felowshippe towardes the setting forthe of the playes to be had at Whitsontyde next...the which companye gave consent and agreed to gyve fourtye shillinges towardes the same and for the levyinge of the same fourtye shillinges

1568: 14 January (fol. 109r) - That ys to saye one to vnderstand of the cōpany what the wold geue towardes the settyng forward of the playe att Whytsuntyde next and also what the wold geue towardes the byeng of sartayne coppes for the furnyture of the sayd play...att wyche day the wholle companye then beyng pr sent agreed to answere mr baylyffe after thys sort as touchyng the settyng forward of the playe/for the dysburssyng of a pecesof monay/the cōpanye ys agreed to dysburse xxxs towardes the play and for byeng of the uesmentes/the are are agreed to by non/but yff neade be to Lend some of our owne the furnyture of the sayd playe

February - att wyche tyme the hole companye was a greed to geue towardes the settyng forthe of the play iiijli xls to be geuen out of the boxe and the other xls the hole cōpanye ys agreed to be cessed for

7. Somerset, J A B: "Records of Early English Drama and the History of English Theatre and Drama: The Case of Shrewsbury". (SRO 4300)

pp. 16/7: On April 23rd, 1575, the council agreed

that Whereas the frame of timber that stood in the quarrell behind the walles is taken doune that the same tymber shale presentlye be deliuered to the scholemaster to the vse of the scholle accordinglye as mr ashton hathe at this tyme written the which hath bine red
(SRO 76, fol. 196^{v} - Municipal Records)

OTHER SOURCES

8. Leighton, W A: "The Guilds of Shrewsbury", ('Shropshire Archaeological Society Transactions', Vol. VIII, 1885, pp. 269-411)

18 Henry 8 1526/7: The Company assembled by the com'ende^{t} of M^{r} Bailiffs to know of the co'pany whether that they wilbe wylling to have any sport or play at Pentecost next folo'yng
(pp. 398/9 - Minutes of the Mercers, Ironmongers and Goldsmiths Company)

9. Owen, H & Blakeway, J B: "A History of Shrewsbury", 2 Vols. (London 1825)

1494 /75/*: Wine given to the Lord Prince at the play in the Quarrell, 106s. 9d. (I/p. 262)

1527 - In regard' dat' lusoribus ville temp'e veris & mensis Maii pro jocunditate ville, 6s. 8d. (I/p. 329)

1532 - Sol' Tho' Eton p f'cura unius mansionis de duobus stagiis p dno psidenti /Bishop of Exeter/ & ba~~ll~~is temp'e ludi septimana Pentecost, 2s. /I/p. 329/

Et in regardo dat' lusoribus ad dcu ludu' & p reparacoe ornamentor' suor', 20s. /I/p. 329/

In vino dat' dno p'sident & ba~~ll~~is in mansione sua temp'e lusi in Quarrera pone muros, 16d. /I/p. 329/

/The next set of Extracts relates to an abbot of Misrule recorded variously as Marham, Marall, Mardol or Mayvoll - cf. LANCASHIRE, Ian: 'Orders for Twelfth Day and Night circa 1515 in the Second Northumberland Household Book', English Literary Renaissance, Vol. X, No. 1, 1980/

1521 - Sol' pro una roba nova depicta, sotularibus, & aliis necessariis

regardis & expensis factis sup' Ricum Glasyer, Abbatem de Marham, pro honestate & jocunditate ville, 6s. 9d. (I/p. 332)

In regardo dat' portitori cōis campane circa villam p p'clamacōe fact' p attendencia faciend' sup' Abbate' de Marham temp'e Maii hoc a°, 1d. (I/p. 332)

1532 - In expensis fact' in garniamentis liberatis & histrioni pro dn̄o Abbate de Marham tempore mensis Maii pro honestate ville hoc anno, 6s. 7d. (I/p. 333)

1542 - Sol' p rep'acōne & pictura ornamentor' Abbatis de Mayvole, 4s. 4d. (I/p. 333)

Et sol' pro una toga de nova fact' dcō Abbati de Mayvoll, 6s. 1d. (I/p. 333)

Sol' Rico Glasier p labore suo in ludend' Abbate' de Mardall, 7s. 4d. (I/p. 333)

1 Edw. VI. - Regardo int'lusor' ludentibus cum dn̄o Abb'e de Marall, 7s. 4d. (I/p. 333)

Sol' Johi Mason, peynter, pro pictura toge pro dcō dn̄o Abbate de Marrall, 12d. (I/p. 333)

5 Edw. VI. - Sol' dn̄o de Abbot Marram, & pro apparatu eor' videl't pro calciamentis tunicis & al' vestibus, 8s. 4d. (I/p. 333)

*/NB. The following footnote occurs at the bottom of p. 325 in Owen & Blakeway, vol. I.

> The election of our bailiffs takes place about Michaelmas; their accounts therefore begin and end at that date, thus running into two years: and in our historical extracts we have carefully adverted to that circumstance in order to preserve the accuracy of chronology: in the present extracts such strictness is not required, and therefore only one of the two years is specified.

In the light of such disregard for the accuracy of dramatic history, their dates should be checked against other reliable sources as, for example, W D Macray's for the Historical Manuscripts Commission (see pp. 452-3).7

APPENDIX F

MERCHANT TAYLORS SCHOOL

A Record of Performance

In the Reference column, I have adopted the following abbreviations in the interests of space and economy.

F/QE Albert Feuillerat, Documents Relating to the Office of Revels in the time of Queen Elizabeth, Materialen, Vol. 21 (Kraus reprint, 1968).

MSC Malone Society Collections.

MTR Merchant Taylors Records, Film No. 298, Volume V. The records are lodged on microfilm in the Guildhall Library.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1572/3	?	Guild-Hall, Merchant Taylors	A play	MTR, 298
1573	Shrove Tuesday	Greenwich	A play	F/QE, p. 174; MSC VI, p. 7.
1573/4	?	Guild-Hall, Merchant Taylors	A play	MTR, 298.

YEAR	DATE	PLACE	TITLE	REFERENCE
1574	Candlemas	Hampton Court	Timoclia at the sege of Thebes by Alexander	F/QE, p. 206; MSC VI, p. 8.
	Shrove Tuesday	Hampton Court	Percius and the Anthomiris	F/QE, p. 213.
1575	Shrove Tuesday	Richmond	"a play"	MSC VI, p. 9.
1576	Shrove Tuesday	Whitehall	"a Playe"	MSC VI, p. 10.

APPENDIX G

EXTRACT TAKEN FROM THE LEGAL NOTEBOOK OF SIR JOHN SPELMAN (1480-1546)

The extract is given in translation and is taken from Volume XCIII (1977) of the Selden Society in which the Reports of Sir John Spelman (Vol. I) have been edited by J H Baker.

The Rules used in old time in Gray's Inn at the time of the Nativity of our Lord Jesus Christ

After the prescriptions, one is chosen king by the clerks of the third table. And he shall sit in the midst of the high bench and choose the officers who were previously ordained by the fellowship at the cupboard. Then the wardens of the wax shall take the torches, and the cupbearer and carver shall give bread and ale to the king. Then the king shall rise, and all shall shout with one voice 'Viva le roy'. On Christmas Day the king shall be served by all his officers, and after the second course the hymn shall be sung; and forthwith the herald shall come to the king to make his proposition, and his answer shall be made by the lords' counsel. Then the king shall wash his hands, standing on his feet; and all his lords ought to approach the king, and the usher shall lay the towel upon the most ancient /i.e. senior/ lord who is there (apart from the chancellor) who shall kiss the towel and deliver one to the king. But before this the dean shall say grace, with the anthem 'Nesciens Mater' being sung. Then all shall say 'Viva le roy'. Then the marshal shall go to the revels, and before the revels are finished shall go to make himself ready to go to the church; and he shall deliver to every gentleman within the inn a silver conusance. Then the marshal shall go in front, his head uncovered, with the most puisne next to him and the most ancient the last, singing to the church 'What shall we sing in worship of this day' etc. At the church the marshal shall find a carol, for which he shall pay 40d. After vespers he shall return to Gray's Inn, with a song called 'There shall none rain down rain' etc., /followed by/ 'Round about the fire' more quickly than before with a shout at the end. Afterwards at supper the king shall be served as before; and after supper the revels; and afterwards the constable's court; and the rere-supper; and then the anthem; and then the cards and dice, with the money for the marshal. So shall it be done every day throughout the twelve days, as before, except that the king shall only sit on the festival days, nor shall solemn revels be kept except on the festival days. And on the feast of Epiphany, after the supper and the revels, the marshal and steward

shall come solemnly to the fire with torchlight, singing 'Farewell and have good day'. After singing which twice, they shall go out of the hall, /continuing to/ sing until they have finished their song. And, in the meantime, the marshal and steward shall break their staves and rods and burn them. Then the case shall be assigned, but not scanned. Then the constable shall hold his court, and forthwith upon the 'Oyez' all shall take the constable and give him / with the treasurer/ many friendly blows, in play. And then the rere-supper, anthem, and cards and dice (without marshal pence). Note that the court of the marshal and steward shall be held on the vigil of Epiphany. (pp. 233-4).

APPENDIX H

THE WINCHESTER ANTHOLOGY

Extracts from BL Additional MS 60577 illustrative of the literary qualities of clerical writers at Winchester College

Fol. 56^{v}

Cystys /$\bar{r}$ecte Crystys/ crosse be oure spede: w^{t} grace m^{er}cye $\bar{i}$ all oure $\bar{n}$ede

A to amerous to adventurous avyse or ye answere.
B to busye to bolde bowrde not to broode.
C to crewelle to cacchynge care nott to soore.
D to dulle to dredefulle drynke not to deep.
E to eylynge to excellente loke v^{er}tue ye sewe.
ff to fresshe to freyle false felowshippe eschewe.
G to gr$\bar{y}$me to grounfulle goode gouern$\bar{a}\bar{u}$ce suffyce.
H to homelye to hastye hewe not to hyghe.
I to iangelynge to iapeynge neu^{er} w^{t} thy mayst^{er}.
K to kynde ne to knappysshe beware of knavysshe tatches.
L to lyght to liberalle looke or thou leepe.
M to merye to mornefulle good mesure ys a meene.
N to nyce to nyghefulle nygardshipe ys naught.
O to owterage to ovyrtwarte Obedyente youe bee.
P to prevye to perte prayse you at partynge.
Q to queynte ne to bolde questyons to enquere.
R to ryatouse to rewthefulle rewle you by resone.
S to spendynge to sparynge spende in dewe sesone.
T to tempre welle yo^{ur} tales and kepe welle yo^{ur} tunge.
V to vowle or to vayre avyse you or ye wedde.
X to Cryste pray we where soo wee bee.

That we may lerne thys. A.B.C.

Fol. 92^{r-v}

misere mei deus secūdū magnā misericordiā tuā

When lyff ys moost louyde & dethe ys moost hatyde
Dethe drawythe a draught & makythe mā full nakyde
Wherefor in þi lyuyng haue þ^{is} in mynde
To yeve w^{t} thy hande/ and þ^{t} þou schalt fynde

Wyves ben rechelesse & childryn bythe vnkynde
Execut[ur]ys ben covetouse ꝑei take ꝑ ꝑei fynde
et s[e]cūdū multituduens misera [...] tuarū
Doctor et instructor monitor petagogus et autor
dele iniquitatem meam

Euer ꝑ[e] ferther I goo ꝑ[e] ferꝑer I am behynde
The ferther I am behynde ꝑ[e] nere my weyis ende
The more I seke ꝑ[e] worse I can fynde
The lyꝫtter leve ꝑ[e] lother for to wende
The lenger I lerne ꝑ[e] more oute of mynde
Is ꝑis fortune oꝑer is hit Infortune
Thowe I goo loose I am tyede w[t] a lyne

Drye in ꝑe see and wete vppon ꝑ[e] stronde
Brennynge in water and in fyre fresyng
In ryvers thurstlewe & moyste vppon ꝑ[e] londe
Glade in mornynge in gladnes cōplaynȳg
The fuller ꝑ[e] wombe ꝑ[e] gredyer in etynge
Is ꝑ[is] fortune oꝑer ys it Infortune
Thowe I go loose I am tyede w[t] a lyne

A merrye pease A mydde ꝑe werre
The better felowe rather at dyscorde
The nere at ꝑe hande ꝑe souner sett aferre
Acorde debatynge debatynge at acorde
ffertheste fro cowrte grettyste w[t] ꝑe lorde
Is ꝑ[is] fortune oꝑ[er] is hit Infortune
Thowe I goo loose I am tyede w[t] a lyne

Wakynge in bedde/ fastynge at ꝑ[e] table
Riche w[t] wysshys/ and poore of possession
Stable vnassuryde/ assuryde eke vnstable
Hope dyspeyryde/ Agwerdonlesse gwerdon
Trusty dysceyte/ ferefull decepcion
Is ꝑis fortune oꝑer is it Infortune
Thow I goo loose I am tyede w[t] a lyne

A morneinge myrthe sauage
Prudent folye stedefaste wyldenes
Prouidens cōveyide euer w[t] rage
A drūkyn sadnesse/ & sadde drūkennes
A woode wysdom & a wysse woodenesse
Is thys fortune oꝑ[er] is hit Infortune
Thowe I goo loose I am tyede w[t] a lyne

Vnhappy eu[er] ys fortune Infortunate
And hertelesse thouꝫte/ a thowꝫtles remēbrāūce
Nowe avauntage/ & sodenlye checke mate
Nowe ⁝ ⁝ nowe ⁘ nowe ˙.| ·| for my chaunce

Thus all ꝑ^e worlde standythe in varyaunce
Late men dyspute whether yt ys fortune
Noo mā soo loose but he is tyede by a lyne //

Fol. 93^r

ffrangens scolā disculus [et] mercator pessimus

Amornyngis when I am callide to scole
De matre vel materia
Than my herte begynnethe to cole — ffrangēs
languescunt mentio viscera
When I up ryse and com to late
Postremus cunctis sociis — ffrangēs
And if my maystyr make debate
Excuso me negociis
Whan I am sett I doo but pley
Non scole tendo regulis — ffrangēs
Whan I can nott he wille me sey
Punit doctor ligulis
How lytyll I have I take noo heede
Parentum pro pecunia — ffrāgēs
And every marchaunte wolde doo soo
Tunc vana sunt cōmercia
ffelawes be merye & make good chere
Saltatis cum tripudio
ffor all wee schall nott thryve to yer' — ffrangēs
Qui exhibemus studio

APPENDIX I

"PLAYING AREA"

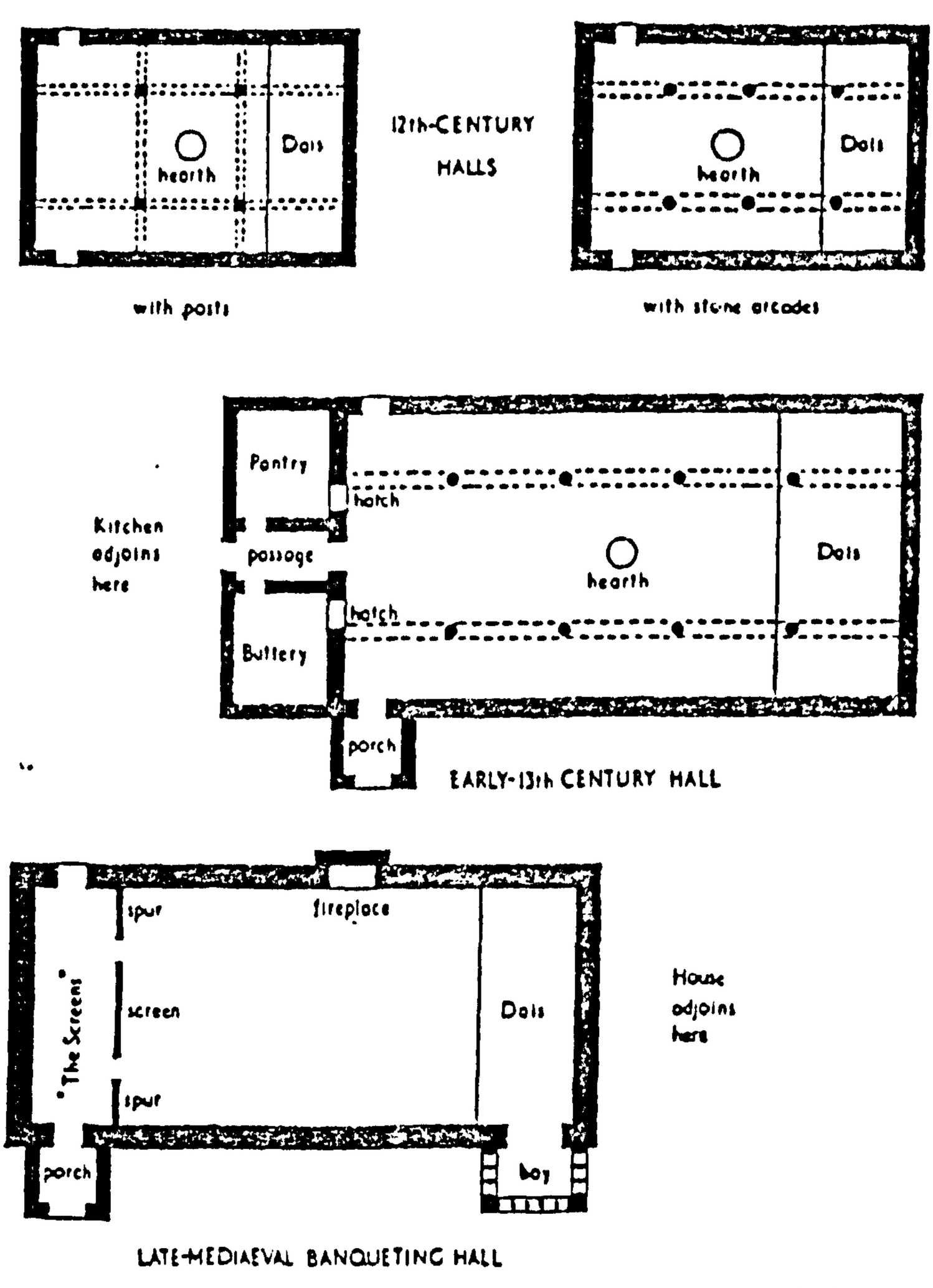

Fig 1 Rufford Old Hall and Smithills Hall, which I have used to illustrate performance area, both fall within the final category - late Medieval - though Smithills retains the central hearth which, at Rufford, was replaced in the early 16th century by a side fireplace.

/Taken from N Braun, An Introduction to English Architecture (Faber, 1951), p. 160./

Fig 2 Rufford Old Hall - Exterior

Fig 3a Rufford Old Hall - Moveable Screen with passage behind and exits to kitchen

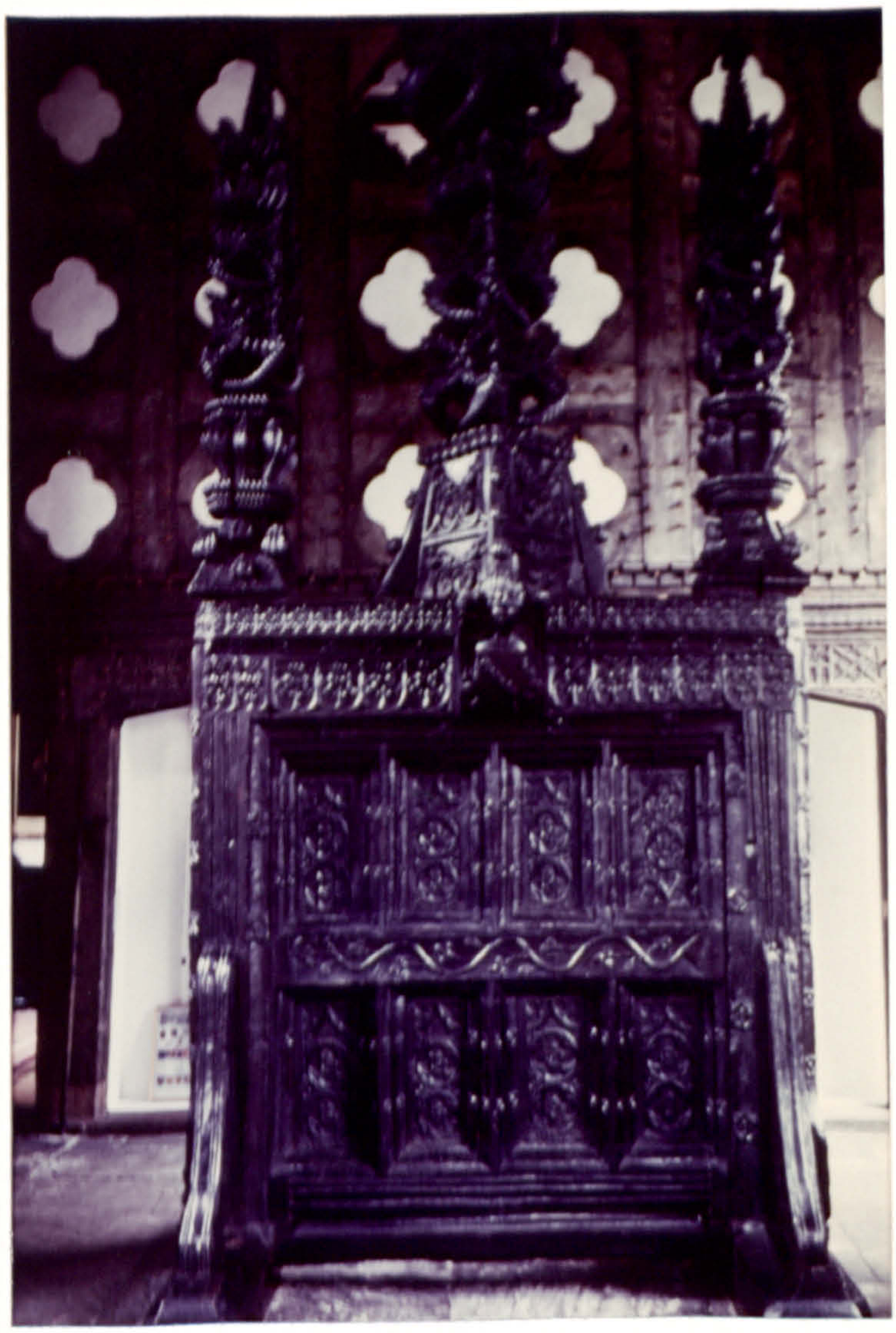

Fig 3b Rufford Old Hall - Close up of Screen with passage behind

Fig 4 Rufford Old Hall - Dais end

Fig 5 Smithills Hall - Dais end.
Note central hearth.

Fig 6a Rufford Old Hall - Fireplace halfway down side
(lower right of picture)

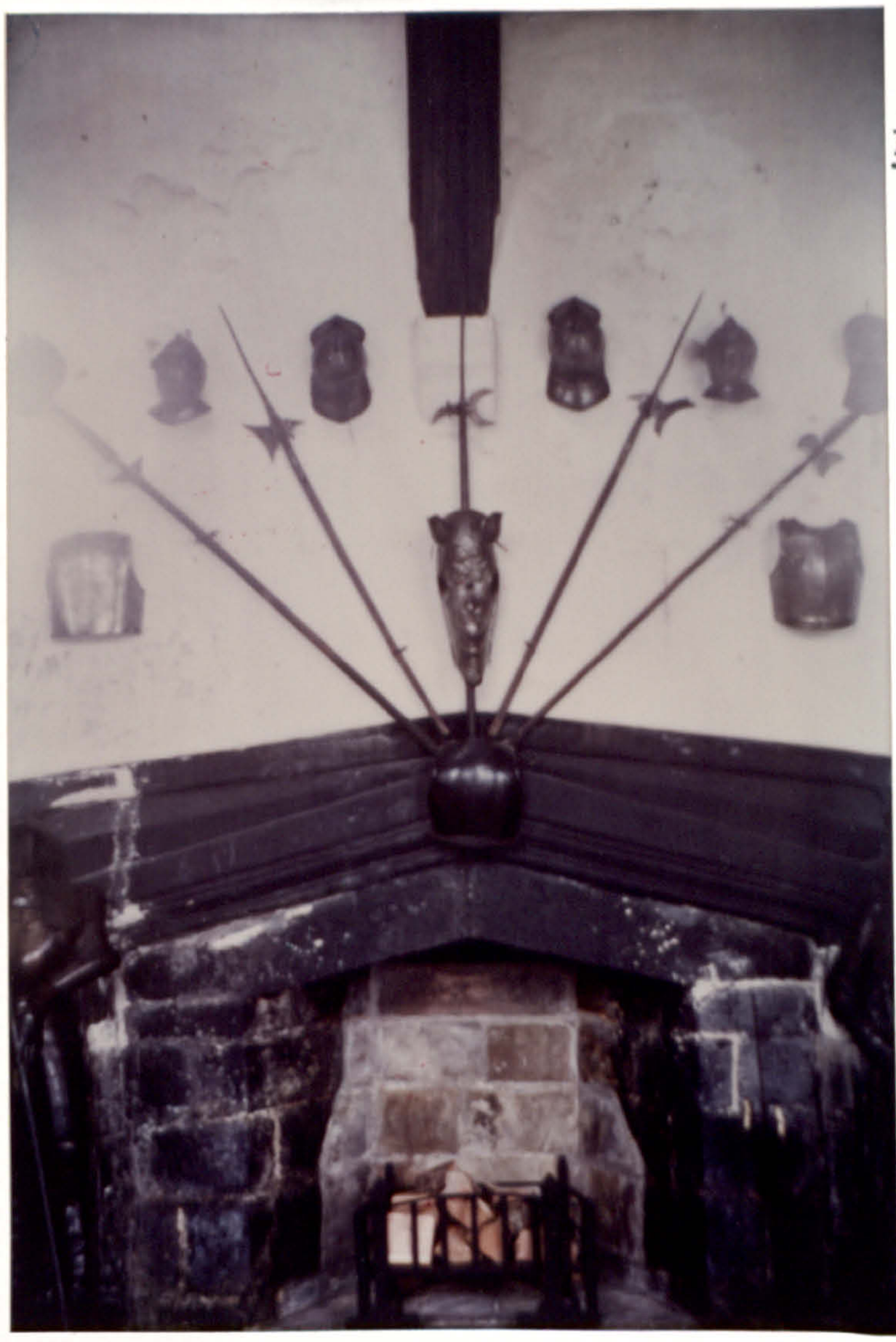

Fig 6b Rufford Old Hall
- the fireplace

Fig 7 Rufford Old Hall
Exterior showing
new chimney added
in early Sixteenth
century and louvre
for original hearth

Fig. 8 Rufford Old Hall - Ornamented beams in ceiling

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ADDENDUM

The following books and articles were published too late to incorporate their findings in the body of the thesis:

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